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HUMĀYŪN BĀDISHĀH

By

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PREFACE

The encouraging reception accorded to the first volume on Humāyūn Bādshāh leads me to hope that the second volume now completed after a lapse of three years will also receive a similar treatment. I have had the advantage of the criticisms and suggestions offered by the reviewers of the first volume and have made the narration in the present volume more concise and readable.

Humāyūn for most of the period under review is not a ruler of territory but a fugitive fleeing through the Punjab, Sind, Rājputāna and Qandahār to Irān and it was only after his return from Irān that he had a territory of his own in Qandahār to which he later on added Kabul and, after a long pause, the Punjab and the Delhi and Agra districts. Within seven months of his occupation of the latter, he died of an accident. The present volume deals with Humāyūn's meetings with his brothers and other Mirzās at Lahore, his wanderings in Sind and Rājputāna and his travels through Irān. While omitting the minor details of his stay in Irān, topics like Humāyūn and Shī'ism, Bairam Khān's and Hamīda Bānū Bēgam's services to the Mughal cause, the conditions on which the Irānī troops were lent to Humāyūn and the cultural effects of the contact of the Mughals with the Irānīs have been fully discussed.

In dealing with the continued struggle of Humāyūn with Kāmrān many redundant though picturesque details have been omitted. Instead new view-points have been

presented, e.g., the effect of the fratricidal war on the prospects of a Mughal advance into Central Asia and on the Mughal nobility.

After describing Humāyūn's political career in the first fifteen chapters, the remaining five, covering more than one-fourth of the whole volume, have been devoted to a discussion of general topics like (1) the prominent women in Humāyūn's time, (2) Bābur's family and the accomplishments of his sons, (3) Prince Akbar under Humāyūn's tutelage, (4) Humāyūn's institutions and monuments and (5) the kingship, the nobility and the people of his time. It is only after the presentation of a fuller account of the Mughal Society that a comparison of the individual accomplishments and administrative abilities—special attention being paid to poetic talents—of Humāyūn and his brothers has been taken up. The inevitable conclusion we arrive at is that while Humāyūn was superior to his brothers both in private and public virtues, he was unfit to act as a bold leader and failed to initiate far-reaching reforms. His were stirring times, preachers had sprung up throughout North India who were advocating the formation of a new society with more democratic and spiritual ideals and many writers of the time were emphasizing this aspect in their writings. Some of the Vaishnava teachers settled at Brindāvan within easy reach of the two Mughal capitals. The Sikh *gurus*, Nānak, Angad and Amar Dās; Kabīr, Mīrā Bāi, Vallabhāchārya and Vithalnāth; Rūpa, Sanātan and Jīva Goswāmī, all spoke on metaphysics and philosophy of life and trenchantly criticized the customs and practices of the day—both Muslim and Hindu—without any hindrance from the Mughal government. This forbearance on the part of the Muslim rulers is a unique example

of tolerance and cultured outlook. But Humāyūn's merits stopped there. He failed to find out the root causes of the emotional effusion that had permeated the whole country and to lead his subjects on a path of political or social greatness. Instead, he was content with frittering away his time on puerile innovations and meaningless regulations. He was an individual of manifold virtues but no far-sighted ruler.

The following shows the system of transliteration adopted:

t	for	ط	h	for	ح
s	for	ث	kh	for	خ
ṣ	for	ص	gh	for	غ
z	for	ذ	'	for	ع
ẓ	for	ض	,	for	ء
ẓ̣	for	ظ			

I am grateful to Mr. S. H. Askari of Patna for obtaining for me the only existing copy of Humāyūn's *dīwān*; to the Secretaries of the Indian History Congress and the U. P. Historical Society and also to the editors of the *Journal of the Sind Historical Society*; the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, the *Hindustan Review* and the *Calcutta Review* for permitting me to incorporate in this volume my articles published by them. For the two pictures I am indebted to Mr. Babu Prasad of Alwar who obtained them for me from the Alwar *darbār* and for the reading of the proofs to Mr. B. R. Bhatia of Maxwell Co., Lucknow. I am also indebted to Mr. K. P. Dar, the Secretary and Manager of the Allahabad Law Journal Co. Ltd. for undertaking to print my work and see it through.

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CHAPTER I

HUMĀYŪN'S FLIGHT TO LAHORE

(1540 A.D.)

After a brief stay at Agra and Delhi, Humāyūn, left for Lahore on the 28th May, 1540 A.D. (20th *Muḥarram* 947 A.H.). He was now left with a small army; for most of his nobles and followers had either fallen in battle or had been scattered after his two defeats. Of the latter, Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān joined the ex-king with his following before his retreat from Delhi and Ḥaidar Mirzā joined at Rohtak. Hindāl also came in there with his mother, Dildār Āghācha Bēgam, and other ladies. He had gone to his *jāgīr*, Alwar, in order to procure provisions, money, tents, and pavilions. The reason why he did not leave his mother, sister and other ladies with Humāyūn is an interesting one. During his stay in Agra, Humāyūn, while bewailing the loss of his small child of eight years, 'Aqīqa Bēgam, in the rout of Chausa, had said, 'I feel very much disgraced and regret why I did not kill her in my own presence' and then turning to the subject of the future safety of his womenfolk remarked, 'now at these adverse moments to escort these women to a place of safety is difficult to accomplish.' Hindāl got alarmed on hearing this and feared that Humāyūn might kill the ladies that were in the palace. So getting excited, he gave vent to his feelings thus, 'The king knows well (what it is) to kill a mother and a sister. As for me, so long as life is left in me, I shall strive in their service and hold

expectations from the Almighty that he would give me an opportunity to sacrifice my life at the feet of my mother and sister.¹

So when he proceeded to Alwar, he took with him, besides his mother, several other ladies, e.g., his sister, Gulchihra Bēgam, Afghānī Āghācha, Gulnār Āghācha and Nārgul Āghācha.² His journey was a perilous one and he had to send the ladies in advance, himself guarding the rear. Even then, the rustics from the neighbourhood used to attack his force and once had actually carried away a few of his women. On that particular occasion, Hindāl had to strive hard, his horse getting an arrow-wound, before he could rescue his women. On reaching Alwar, he collected money, tents and pavilions for Humāyūn's use and then retraced his steps and joined his elder brother at Rohtak.³

On starting from Delhi, Humāyūn had left the main route that passed through Pānipat, Karnāl and Ambāla for fear of an Afghān pursuit and had gone to Rohtak. When he found that the Afghāns were not pursuing him and that it was a futile apprehension, he resumed the main route either at Ambāla or Rājpora and then passed on to Sirhind, travelling twenty or twenty-five miles a day.

Humāyūn reached Sirhind⁴ on the 17th *ṣafar* 947 A.H. and three days later he lost his faithful deputy, Mīr

¹ Hindāl had three sisters, Gulbadan Bēgam, Gulrang Bēgam and Gulchihra Bēgam. The third is meant here. See G. H. N. 38a.

² Āghācha is a Turkī word, though *Āghā* and *cha* separately are both Persian. Āghācha is slightly less honorific when applied to younger princes among men in Crimea. When applied to women it is opposed to Bēgam or Khānam. Afghānī Āghācha is probably Bābur's Afghān wife, Bibī Mubārīka.

³ Situated 44 miles north-west of Delhi.

⁴ Tieffenthaler calls it the frontier town of the province of the Punjab.

Fakhr 'Alī.¹ At Sirhind, Hindāl was ordered to stay behind as a protection for the main party against an Afghān attack, while Humāyūn himself marched on to Machhīwāra² and crossed the Satlaj there. Hindāl was now ordered to proceed to him and afterwards, the whole party moved on to Jalandhar. Here again the caution of leaving Hindāl behind was repeated and Humāyūn quickly marched forward and reached Lahore. He next sent Muẓaffar Bēg, the Turkmān, as an aid to Hindāl. Hindāl in the meantime, had moved on to the river Beas and crossed it at Govindwāl and it was at Govindwāl that Muẓaffar Bēg joined him. Since the Afghāns had also arrived on the other side of the river, Hindāl and Muẓaffar Bēg remained encamped for some time and then Hindāl returned to Lahore leaving Muẓaffar Bēg alone.

On reaching Lahore, Humāyūn proceeded to the garden of Khwāja Dōst Munshī, one of the charming spots in Lahore where he stayed for three months and his time was occupied mostly by the deliberations held to consider the political situation and to arrive at some course of action in the near future. All the Mirzās had collected and all of them hoped to put their shoulders together in the Mughal cause. The only unwilling persons were Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā and his son Ulugh Mirzā, who sat apart and were engaged in collecting 'a rabble of ruffians and senseless Hindus.'³ A few other nobles also

¹ T. U. assigns the death to the year 949 A. H. which is evidently a mistake.

² Situated 22 miles east of Ludhiāna. In the sixteenth century, the river Satlaj flowed close to it; to-day it has receded four miles west of the town.

³ See Elias and Ross's *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* (T. R.), 478. According to Aḥmad Yādgar, Sultān M. went away to Multān.

joined in the deliberations, the most useful being Khwānd Maḥmūd Maḥdūm Nūrā,¹ a disciple of the far-famed Khwāja Ubaidullāh Aḥrār and Mīr Abul Baqā.² One of the last to arrive at Lahore was Shamsuddīn Muḥammad, son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad. He had helped Humāyūn in escaping to Agra after the battle of Qanauj. He was really in Kāmran's service but his services had been lent to Humāyūn in the battle of Qanauj. Shamsuddīn's relations with Humāyūn had been so cordial that he now hastened to join Humāyūn and continued in his service, rather than go to his more prosperous master, Kāmran. For his attachment he was rewarded now; and later on, in Akbar's time was granted the *wizārat* and the dual titles of Khān-i-A'zam and Atkah Khān.

The deliberations began on the first *Rabī'ul-anwal* 947 A.H. At the commencement, stress was laid on the need of concord and unanimity and everyone agreed to abide by the decision of the assembly by putting his signature to a written deed (*taẓkirah*) to that effect. The main discussion was then opened by Humāyūn himself. He 'began with lofty counsels and uttered excellent words' and cited the example of the failures of the eighteen sons of Sulṭān Ḥusāin Mirzā owing to disunion among them and the dismal spectacle of the passing away of Khurāsān with its far-famed capital Herāt into the hands of the Uzbeks. Then Humāyūn passed on to dwell on the conquests of Bābur, saying how complete they had been and what untold blessings they had brought in their wake. He concluded with these words, 'Now is the time to fit

¹ T. R. is eloquent in his praise and devotes several pages in describing his greatness. See pp. 389-90, 395-401.

² He had suggested Bābur's sacrifice for Humāyūn and also had negotiated Humāyūn's marriage with Ḥamīda Bānū Bēgam.

in the head with the collar of good counsel and to take it out of that of jealousy and evil counsel, so that you may attain headship among mankind and a means of gaining the favour of God.¹

Humāyūn's speech acted as an apple of discord, for the reference to jealousy, evil counsel, and headship gave an opportunity to those present to open their lips of opposition to him. One has to note that Humāyūn was now treated differently from what he was used to as king. The fact is that mediaeval despotism depended on successful leadership and the leader, so long as he met with success, would be faithfully obeyed and even adored. This explains why Humāyūn was implicitly obeyed upto 1539 A.D. But when he met with failure in the two battles and was driven away from Agra and Delhi, the respect shown to him or to his opinions also grew less. We have had illustrations in our narration of his retreat, when the inhabitants of Bhongāon and Rohtak behaved rudely towards him. In fact our surprise is that Humāyūn did at all get any followers after such signal proofs of his incompetence and that he could at all return to India, win victories against the Afghāns, and regain his throne fifteen years later.

Kāmrān spoke next. He talked of retreat to Kābul and not of advance or of fight. He advised Humāyūn to proceed to the hills or to Kashmir and take the other Mirzās with him, whilst he himself would escort their families, and save them from ruin. Having seen the non-

¹ *A. N.*, 357. I have not accepted *T. R.*'s version that Ḥaidar M. opened the deliberations. Beveridge has translated the first sentence as 'Now is the time to sink the head into the bosom of good counsel and to take it out of that of jealousy's collar' which obscures the sense.

combatants safely lodged in Kabul he promised to return and take part in the subsequent actions.

Kāmrān's observations might appear just at first sight but actually they were prompted by narrow selfishness. He was carrying on secret negotiations with Shēr Shāh¹ who had arrived at Sultānpur on the Beas. Hence he was against war now or later and would not allow Humāyūn or any of the Mirzās to stay within his territories. They might roam, if they chose, in the hills until they were destroyed. But he would like to keep a hold on them by keeping their families with himself. Thus his proposal was advantageous for himself but offered no relief to anybody else.

Prince Hindāl and many of the assembled nobles were angry with Kāmrān for his selfish speech, and in their anger advised Humāyūn to do away with him so that the army might be united and all differences might disappear; for then and then only could they achieve something.² But Humāyūn even now did not realize the actual situation and refused to accept the wholesome advice; instead he delivered a lengthy philosophic discourse on the falsity of the world and the impossibility of distressing a brother's heart for its sake. He went on, 'I remember my father's words, "O Humāyūn, take care, a thousand times take care that you keep no malice against your brothers nor

¹ See the *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh* by Sujān Rāi. Kāmrān hoped to obtain Lahore in addition to Kabūl from Shēr Shāh. According to T. Sal. Kāmrān spoke thus: 'If I be given the Punjab in token of friendship I shall do such deeds that none would dare be hostile to him (Shēr Shāh).'

² *Jauhar's* words are

مهم کامران را یکسو باید کرد تا لشکر یکدل و یک جان میشود و دو دوئی
برود ما کار توانیم کرد

quarrel with them." I have carefully preserved these words in my memory and I cannot entertain any such ungracious proposal.¹ He thus allowed the scheme of an attack on Kabul to drop and lost the opportunity of immediately repairing his fortune and escaping his later exile to Īrān.

Hindāl Mirzā and Ḥaidar Mirzā were the other speakers and made more sensible proposals. Hindāl suggested that the party should proceed to Bhakkar, thence to Gujrāt, and occupy both. The occupation of two such important provinces would have probably facilitated the deliverance of the rest of the country from the Afghāns. The proposal was not wholly impracticable. Gujrāt, after the death of its last great ruler, Bahādur Shāh, was suffering from the strifes of its feudal nobles; and the advent of Humāyūn might have led one or more parties of the Gujrāt nobles to join him and the large wealth of the province might have led to other conquests.

Ḥaidar Mirzā made a different suggestion. He desired Humāyūn to settle down in the hilly region from Sirhind to the Salt range,² while he himself would go forward and conquer Kashmir. He calculated that the conquest would be accomplished in two months, i.e., long before Shēr Shāh would arrive to molest the Mughals.

برای این دنیا فانی ناپائدار برادر خود را از جان بیگال نمیکم و نصیحت
 فردوس مکانی نیز بید آورم که ای همایون زنهار و هزار زنهار که در میان برادران
 کشاکشی نکنی و بدنیت نشوی همین سخن حضرت ایشان را پاس میدارم و
 این چنین کار ناشایسته از من نمی آید

² T. R., 477 has, 'while Humāyūn betakes himself to the mountains and forms a strong position on the slopes.' The chief Mughal nobles would be given *jāgīrs* in that region.

He expected Shēr Shāh to arrive in four months' time when Humāyūn and others would be fully settled in Kashmir; and relieved from anxiety about their families, the Mughals might be able to give a better account of themselves in later ventures.

There was much sense in Haidar Mirzā's proposal. He did conquer Kashmir in 1541 A.D. and ruled there for the next ten years, though at the end of the period he was murdered in a night attack by his own men.¹ His proposals for settling down in the Salt range might also have been feasible. The Gakhars ruled between the Chenāb and the Indus and their great chief, Sārang Khān,² was still stamping coins in Humāyūn's name. When commanded by Shēr Shāh to submit to him, Sārang refused, placed obstruction in the way of the erection of the Afghān fort of Rohtāsgarh, and when fight followed, died on the battle-field with sixteen of his sons.³ With such a brave and faithful chief on his side, the occupation of the outer spurs of the Himalayas from Sirhind to the Salt range might not have been impossible, if only Shēr Shāh had allowed him peace. The Mughal grandees generally preferred Haidar's proposal to Kāmran's. They addressed him thus, "who would think of sending his family to Kabul and of himself roaming without family or baggage? Between Lahore and Kabul, there are rivers, mountains, and highway robbers. The Mirzā's scheme is quite impracticable."

Humāyūn agreed with this view, allowed Haidar

¹ See *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 286.

² His tomb still exists at Riwat, 11½ miles south-east of Rawalpindi.

³ See the article, *History of the Gakhars* by Delmerick in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (*J. A. S. B.*) 1871.

Mirzā to proceed towards Kashmir, spared four hundred from among his followers, and promised a larger contingent under Khwāja Kalān.

Let us again turn to Kāmran and relate his full treachery to his elder brother. He had no heart in the deliberations of the Mirzās, for he was secretly negotiating with Shēr Shāh. He sent his *Ṣadr*, Qāzī ‘Abdullāh, to the Afghān king with a promise that if the Punjab were granted to him he would do such deeds (against Humāyūn) in his capacity as friend as no enemy might be able to do,¹ i.e., being a brother and ostensibly friendly to Humāyūn he could harm him more than an open enemy.

The *Ṣadr* met Shēr Shāh in Delhi and urged him to proceed to the Punjab. Shēr Shāh went forward and sent an agent to Kāmran who gave him a cordial reception and held a feast in his honour. To this feast, Humāyūn was also invited. The *Ṣadr* went once again and met Shēr Shāh who had by this time reached Sultānpur, about five miles south of Talwandī. But the negotiations fell through as Shēr Shāh was not agreeable to the addition of the Punjab to Kāmran’s territories.

While Humāyūn stayed in Lahore, an envoy from Shēr Shāh met him also. Humāyūn not to be outdone by his brother, held an entertainment in honour of the envoy and Kāmran, at his own request, was allowed a seat on Humāyūn’s carpet. When the entertainment came to an end, Humāyūn sent through Shēr Shāh’s agent the

¹ *T. sal. has.*

مرزا کامران از پوست برآمده قاضی عبدالله صدر خود را نزد شهر خان فرستاده
 باو نامه نوشت که اگر صوبه پنجاب بر اینجانب مسلم دارند در مقام دوستی کارها
 میکنم که هیچ دشمنی نتوان کرد

following quatrain:

در آینه گرچه خود نمائی باشد
 پیوسته ز خویشتن جدائی باشد
 خود را بمثال غیر دیدن عجب است
 این بوالعجبی کار خدای باشد

“Although one’s image be seen in a mirror,
 It always remains apart from one’s self.
 It is strange to see one’s self as someone else;
 This marvel is the work of God.”

By his quatrain, Humāyūn had desired to convey his disappointment at Shēr Shāh’s unkind behaviour. He meant to say that he had considered the Afghān as an age-long friend but his present behaviour separated him from himself. The ex-king consoled himself by the reflection that everything is the work of God and this unkindness on the part of Shēr Shāh was also by God’s will.

Shēr Shāh did not respond to Humāyūn’s appeal and the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* has given us a reason for it. Shēr Shāh was very particular about the observance of the branding regulations of the *manṣabdārs’* horses and so used to insist that the branding operations should be done in his presence, and as the burnt hair of the branded animals emitted an unpleasant odour, handkerchiefs soaked in rose-water were in constant use. When it was suggested that the horses be led on to some distance, Shēr Shāh did not agree, giving as his reason that utmost vigilance was needed in the matter; for as yet he had not settled all accounts with Humāyūn. When Shēr Shāh’s remarks were repeated to Humāyūn he had laughingly remarked, ‘Shēr Khān acts as no other king has so far done. He yet behaves

as a common soldier.¹ When Shēr Shāh heard of the remark, he pithily observed, 'Humāyūn had dealt with angels while I have to deal with demons,' meaning thereby that Humāyūn's simple nature made him place too much trust in his men and it cost him his throne, while he took his men for human beings with average human nature, prone to fraud and cunningness and hence the need of caution on his part. Humāyūn's sneering remarks and denial of the title of Shāh to the Afghān king must have annoyed Shēr Shāh and led him to cut short his negotiations.

Humāyūn once more sent envoys with offers of peace. His agents were Muẓaffar Bēg and Qāzī 'Abdullāh, who had already been to Shēr Shāh on Kāmran's behalf. The agents repeated Humāyūn's words requesting the Afghān king to leave the Punjab to him, 'What justice is there in this. I have left you the whole of Hindustān. Leave Lahore alone, and let Sirhind, where you are, be a boundary between you and me'. In the present forlorn state Humāyūn should not have expected the grant of any territory by the Afghāns, least so of an important province like the Punjab. Humāyūn had probably based his hopes on his past relations with the Afghān chief, to whom at one time he was willing to allow the rich province of Bengal.

Shēr Shāh, who had already refused the province to Kāmran, could not agree to Humāyūn's request and answered, "I have left you Kabul.² You should go there."

¹ این نکو کارها که از شیر خان بعرضه ظهور می آید بهادشاهان (بطی ندارد هنوز قلچچی گری از وی نرفته

قلچچی or more properly قولچچی according to Redhouse's Turki dictionary is a janissary stationed at a guard house or a regular soldier or a policeman.

² 'You' here means the Mughals. He would make no distinction between Kāmran and Humāyūn.

The abstention from an attack on the Mughals at Kabul and a free permission to them to settle there, must be pronounced a generous gesture on the part of the Afghān king; for thereby he was depriving himself of an excellent recruiting ground amongst his own countrymen. Of course he had taken precautions to prevent the Mughals from employing the Afghāns of Afghānistān against him,¹ viz., of organizing a system of charity by which his countrymen might occasionally repair to his court and return loaded with gifts and donations. The policy was highly successful and so long as he or his equally able son lived, no invasion had taken place on the Afghān territory.

But in allowing the Mughals to stay in his neighbourhood he was always risking an invasion from them and was allowing them to choose their own time for such an invasion. It is true that so long as a strong government was maintained by the Afghāns a Mughal invasion would not have been successful. But if ever the Afghān government at Delhi weakened, the Mughals would repeat Babur's campaigns and make a bid for the throne of Delhi. So Shēr Shāh's present magnanimity was fraught with future dangers but he ignored them altogether.

With the end of the negotiations, Muẓaffar Beg returned to his master and advised him to make a move at once. 'It was like the day of resurrection. People left their decorated places and furniture just as they were, but took with them whatever money they had' The despair was due to the fact that none knew or could suggest an immediate destination.

When Humāyūn's cup of misery was full, he felt

much relieved on dreaming one night¹ that a holy man dressed in green clothes and holding a staff in his hand, appeared to him, offered him the staff, and bade him be of good cheer; for he prophesied that he was to have a son with the name of Jalāluddīn Muḥammad Akbar, who would belong to his family. When asked who he was, he gave his name as *Zhanda pīl* Aḥmad Jām.² One of Humāyūn's queens, Bībī Gūnwar, was *enceinte* at this time. Since the aforesaid dream was taken to mean the birth of a son to the Bībī, there was great rejoicing. The Bībī gave birth to a child in the following *Jumādāl-awwal* but it was not a son but a daughter. She was given the name of Bakhshī Bānū.³

At last the day came when Humāyūn had to move out of Lahore. Shēr Shāh had reached Sultānpur, about 30 miles south-west of Jalandhar and any further delay would have been suicidal for the Mughals. So at the end of *Jumādāl-ākhir*, 947 A.H. (October 31, 1540 A.D.) the party crossed the river Rāwī. Even now when ruin faced the Mughals, Kāmran did not hesitate to slight Humāyūn and preceded his elder brother to a boat.⁴

¹ That of 4th *Rabi'ul-awwal*, 947, as given by Hājī Mohd. 'Ārif Qandahārī.

² *ژنده پیل* 'furious or huge elephant.' When applied to the saint Ahmad, it implied 'might' or 'strength.'

³ Later on, she was first given in marriage to Ibrāhīm, Sulaimān Mirzā's son, and then after Ibrāhīm's death, to Sharaf-uddīn Husain.

⁴ The ever-faithful Jauhar fully describes the scene.

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CHAPTER II

HUMĀYŪN'S JOURNEY ACROSS THE PUNJAB (1540 A.D.)

Humāyūn departed from Lahore, crossed the Rāvi, fordable at the end of October, 1540, and parted from Kām-rān with a *Fātiḥa-i-khairiat* on his lips¹ and proceeded in a north-western direction. He desired to go to Kashmir where Ḥaidar Mirzā had already proceeded. It had been arranged that the Mirzā would first of all be supported by an influential *jāgīrdār* of the neighbourhood, viz., Sikandar Tōpchī² and after some success had been gained, Amīr Khwāja Kalān also should proceed thither and later on, if everything went well, Humāyūn himself would repair in that direction.³ Khwāja Kalān was staying in Sialkōt and with him was Muvaiid Bēg, who had accompanied Humāyūn in his retreat from Bengal.⁴ The Bēg now wrote to Humāyūn to say that though the Khwāja had been in Mirzā Kām-rān's service, he was willing to come over to Humāyūn if only the latter would value his services and secure them by meeting him in person. Humāyūn acted on the suggestion and went to Sialkot only to find that Muvaiid Bēg had given him false hopes. Khwāja Kalān would neither join him nor go to Kashmir. Thus disappointed Humāyūn turned to the west and accompanied by

¹ *Jauhar*.

² According to I. N., Sikandar was *jāgīrdār* of Naushahr.

³ *Jauhar*.

⁴ G. H. N.

Kāmrān reached the bank of the Chenāb.¹ On this occasion he had only forty followers, with whom he wished to cross the river. Tardī Bēg, who formed one of the party, was asked to take the lead in swimming across the river but his horse got terrified and refused to take the plunge. So recourse was had to an elephant, which took the lead and the whole party followed it.² When the right bank was reached, Kāmrān again talked of going to Kabul on the plea of shattered health and asked leave of Humāyūn. The leave was granted and he left Humāyūn for the present and accompanied by Mirzā 'Askarī, Khwāja 'Abdul Haq, and Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd, proceeded to Kabul. But as we shall see presently, he again returned to his brother.³ As for Humāyūn, he appears to be undecided about his future course of action. At one time he thought of going to Kabul and thence to Badakhshān. But Kāmrān would not listen to the proposal and kept on saying, that 'in his lifetime the Emperor *Firdaus Makānī*⁴ gave Kabul to my mother.⁵ It is not right for you to go to Kabul.'⁶ Humāyūn tried to argue that Bābur treated Kabul as a royal demesne and went on, "as for Kabul His Majesty *Firdaus Makānī* often used to say, 'My Kabul I will give to no one; far from it. Let none of my sons covet it. There God gave me all my children and many

¹ T. A., 46. G. H. N. makes the Khwāja join Humāyūn from Sialkōt. According to A. N. Sikandar Tōpchī was followed by Khwāja Kalān to the passes of Kashmir and Humāyūn who also wished to follow Sikandar was unable to proceed thither and so turned towards the Chenāb.

² *Jauhar*.

³ A. N. and M. T.

⁴ Bābur was given this title after his death.

⁵ She would be the manager of her son's *jāgīr*.

⁶ G. H. N., 147.

victories followed its capture.¹ Moreover, this expression of opinion is recorded many times in his *Wāqia-nāma*.....” But all Humāyūn’s arguments proved unavailing and Kām-rān stuck to his decision and as he had a large following, Humāyūn dismissed the idea of going to Badakhshān and turned in another direction. Kām-rān too appears to have softened a bit and returned again to his brother. The whole party including Kām-rān reached Bhera on the Jhelam. At this time the news reached the Mughal camp that Shēr Shāh with his Afghāns had crossed the river Beas² and had arrived within 30 cōs of Lahore.³ Khwāja Kalān at Sialkōt also heard of Shēr Shāh’s approach, gave up his intentions of going to Kashmir, and joined the princes at Bhera. But Kām-rān did not allow the Khwāja any opportunity to declare himself in Humāyūn’s favour; for, the Mirzā ‘scized on the house and person of Kalān Bēg.’ The rude behaviour caused some excitement among Humāyūn’s followers and one of them Jabbār Qulī Kūrchī offered to go and assassinate the Mirzā. Humāyūn would not agree to this and he burst forth, ‘I refused this request when at Lahore⁴ and certainly will not agree to it now.....’ Thus, of Haidar Mirzā’s three supporters mentioned above, Humāyūn and Khwāja Kalān Bēg kept away and in their absence, the third supporter, Sikandar Tōpchī proved no better. He separated from Mirzā Haidar and took shelter in the Kōh Sārang.⁵

News of Shēr Shāh’s advance continually reached the Mughals and spread a good deal of alarm. So they felt

¹ G. H. N. It was in Kabul that Bābur called himself Bādshāh.

² Called Sultānpūr river from the town of Sultānpūr, situated on the river.

³ T. A., Vol. II, 46. ll. 18-20.

⁴ See supra, Ch. I.

⁵ I. N. and M. R.

they could not stay at Bhera. Even now Humāyūn had not abandoned entirely the idea of going to Kashmir but so far, he had received no news of Mirzā Ḥaidar and, in the absence of definite news, he could not gauge the success that had attended him. To him an expedition to Kashmir with Shēr Shāh in his rear was too dangerous to be attempted.¹ So Humāyūn had only one course to pursue and it was to cross the river Chenāb, thus placing the river between himself and the enemy and to proceed southward.² The alarm from Shēr Shāh was over for the present and Humāyūn arrived at *Khushāb*, halted there for a day, and was lavishly entertained by Ḥusain Timar Sultān, the governor of the place. Ḥusain Timar seems to have been an honest fellow and to Humāyūn's question as to how he would act if Kāmṛān tried to secure him answered, 'I am your Majesty's attached servant, and will shed my blood in your defence.' He meant what he said, for from that day he was one of Humāyūn's devoted followers.

Shortly after, while on the march, an altercation occurred between Humāyūn and Mirzā Kāmṛān. The actual incident was a trifle but it led to the final parting of the two brothers. They had taken the road to Multān. When they had journeyed six *cōs*, they came to a narrow path through a pass. Beyond the pass, the road bifurcated one leading to Kabul and the other to Multān. When, the pass was reached, Kāmṛān wished to enter it first and Humāyūn as king objected to this. The courtiers settled the dispute in Humāyūn's favour, Mīr Abul Baqā pointing out to the Mirzā the impropriety of his act. At this Kāmṛān allowed Humāyūn the precedence he claimed, but after the pass had been crossed he went away to Kabul

¹ G. H. N.

² The river Chenāb has been called here Āb-i-Bhera by *Jauhar*.

leaving Humāyūn to his fate. Of course, Mirzā ‘Askarī, Khwāja Kalān, and some other nobles of Kāmrān who were his partisans, also chose to accompany him. Even Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā, who had been lurking in Multān with his two sons, now joined Kāmrān on the Indus. Thus some of Humāyūn’s brothers and cousins deserted him in his hour of distress.

Kāmrān Mirzā’s journey lay through the Gakhar territory in the north of the Salt range. The Gakhar leader, Rāi Sārang, was a well-wisher of the Mughals and now, when one of their princes chose to come to him, he befriended him, acted as his guide, took him to Dangalī¹ where the Mughals were able to cross the river Indus.² Rāi Sārang and his brother Sulṭān Ādam maintained their traditional loyalty towards the Mughals and fought many a battle on their behalf against the Afghāns. Needless to say, this loyalty cost them heavily. Against Rāi Sārang, Shēr Shāh built Rohtāsgarh on the Jhelam and carried out systematic raids, in one of which the Rāi’s daughter was carried away and given over to one of the slaves of the Afghān king. It was after Shēr Shāh’s death, in his successor’s reign that Sulṭān Ādam made peace by expelling the Niāzī Afghāns, who had recently revolted against Islām Shāh and had taken shelter with the Gakhars. But they never changed their loyal attitude towards the Mughals.

Kāmrān Mirzā and ‘Askarī Mirzā were not the only persons to abandon Humāyūn. Hindāl Mirzā also de-

¹ Probably *Tieffenthaler’s* Dingaron, 10 miles from Attock. There is a Dingagali, north of Attock, but it is not situated on the river Indus.

² See Delmerick’s article, on ‘*History of the Gakhars*’. Sārang Gakhar’s tomb may yet be seen at Riwat, 11½ miles S.-E. of Rawalpindi.

serted him and with him went Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā and Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān. Hindāl had resented Kāmran Mirzā's hostility to Humāyūn and the latter's leniency to the Mirzā, and had spoken in favour of a change of route and an immediate journey to Sind and Gujrāt. So when he found Humāyūn undecided about his future course of action, he left him¹ and accompanied by Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā and Qāsim Ḥusain went forward to Sind.

Humāyūn, deserted by all his brothers and alarmed by the news that Shēr Shāh had advanced up to Khushāb and had made it his headquarters, most reluctantly chose to follow Hindāl's lead.² For greater safety the ex-king marched on the west side of the Jhelam, and of the Chenāb after its junction with the Jhelam. On the east lay the Lakhī forest belonging to Bakhshuc Lankah and the large number of his Baluch followers. The Lankahs were the late rulers of Multān and, though they had lost their kingdom to Mirzā Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn of Thatta, they continued to be the chief zamindars of the jungles east of the river Chenāb. Keeping to the west of the river, Humāyūn reached Uch, situated about 100 miles north of Multān, December 31, 1540. On the way he had suffered such privations due to a famine that one *asharfī* was offered for a seer of millet and even then it was not obtainable in sufficient quantity.³

¹ According to *A. N.* and *I. N.*, it was Bēg Mīrak who instigated Hindāl against Humāyūn. *T. R.* simply says that Hindāl at this moment opposed Humāyūn.

² According to *A. N.* the interval between crossing the river Rāvī and deciding to go to Sind was one of a few days only. The crossing of the Rāvī was completed in the last days of *Jumādul-ākhir* and the decision of proceeding to Sind was made at the beginning, ۸؎ of *Rajab*.

³ *Bad.* 95, 1, 25.

Let us now turn for a while to Hindāl and his associates. They had left Humāyūn and formed the plan of going across the Baluch country i.e, Bakhshue Lankah's territory to Gujrat. It was a foolhardy scheme and could never have been successful. The distance of Gujrāt from Uch, was several hundred miles. Actually they were unable to achieve anything; for, almost at the outset the Baluchis barred their path and the party was forced to fall back upon the main body under Humāyūn. On one occasion, when Hindāl was roaming aimlessly and in distress, he came upon Qāzī 'Abdullāh, Mirzā Kāmran's envoy, who was returning from Shēr Shāh and was accompanied by a number of the Afghāns. Hindāl, who bore no love for Mirzā Kāmran and hence for his envoy, put the Afghāns to death and would have done away with the Qāzī also, had not Mīr Bābā Dōst,¹ one of the teachers in his service, intervened in the Qāzī's favour.

The sufferings of Mirzā Hindāl and his party had been extreme and they had to pass twenty days wandering from place to place without much food or water. At the end of the period, the party was able to fall in with the main body of the Mughals. Reconciliation took place between the two brothers and Hindāl for the next few months remained faithful to his brother.

When Uch was reached, it was discovered that Bakhshue Lankah² was in the neighbourhood. Humāyūn, hoping to win him over and with his help to put an end to his privations, sent a rich *k̄bilat* and promised to bestow on him the title of *Khān-i-Jahān* together with the privilege of using a banner, a kettle-drum, and a *siropa*. Bakhshue

¹ M. R. His daughter was Hamīda Bānū, who was married to Humāyūn, a year later.

² For Bakhshue Lankah see *Far.* (N. K. edition), Vol. II, 324-31.

belonged to a Baluch family which had ruled in Multān till 932 A.H. (1525-6). In that year he lost sovereignty to Mirzā Shāh Husain Arghūn but continued to be the chief *zamīndār* of the district. When Bakhshue received Humāyūn's message, he probably did not care very much for an empty title from a dethroned and fugitive prince and so never visited him in person. But he relieved him of his privations, provided him with provisions, encouraged traders to bring articles for sale to his camp and provided boats to enable his party to cross the river Chenāb. Humāyūn actually received a hundred boats full of corn and other provisions. He distributed the provisions among his followers, utilized the boats to cross the river,¹ passed by Multān, and at last reached Bhakkar on the 28th *Ramzān*, 947 A.H. (January 26, 1541). In the meantime Shēr Shāh in pursuit of Humāyūn had reached Sirhind, Lahore and finally Khushāb. At Lahore, the Afghāns persecuted those Mughals that had been left behind and thus forced them to follow the other Mughals to Kabul.² From Khushāb, Shēr Shāh himself returned, but left behind Khawās Khān and other generals to continue the campaign of driving Humāyūn out of the Punjab. The small number of followers with Humāyūn—at one time they counted only forty men³—might have tempted Khawās Khān to make an attack on Humāyūn and to capture him. But it seems the Afghān general had no such idea and contented himself with compelling Humāyūn to be continually on the move and occupying the place vacated by

¹ An interesting question arises, where had Humāyūn crossed the river. Possibly he crossed the river Chenāb, where it takes the name of Gara.

² T. S.

³ When Humāyūn crossed the Chenāb. See *supra*, p. 17.

him.¹ It is likely that Shēr Shāh had cautioned his generals against Humāyūn's capture as it would have placed the Afghān chief in an awkward situation and would probably have led to his adversary's death.²

¹ The actual words may be quoted from *I. N.*,

خواص خان با لشکر عظیم متعقب آنحضرت تعیین نموده بود باوجود استعداد
و انبوه لشکر دلیری نمی نمود و از هر منزل که آنحضرت کوچ میفرمودند او فرود
می آمد

Abul Fazl thinks it was cowardice that kept Khawas Khan at a distance. See also *Makbẖan-i-Afghānī* by Ni'matullāh for the statement that Khawās Khān and others were instructed not to give battle to Humāyūn but to drive him out of the Afghān dominion.

² First published in *the Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, July, 1939.

CHAPTER III

HUMĀYŪN AT BHAKKAR

(1541 A.D.)

After a weary journey through the Punjab, Humāyūn reached Rohrī¹ on the east bank of the river Indus on January 26, 1541 A.D. Rohrī is one of the three towns which are situated close to each other, the other two being Bhakkar and Sakkar.

Bhakkar, the chief of the three towns, is primarily a fortress on an island in the river between the towns of Rohrī on the eastern and Sakkar on the western bank. The island is a rock of limestone and flint, oval in shape, and 800 yards long, 300 yards wide, and about 30 feet high. The two river-channels into which the fortress divides the Indus, are some 400 yards in width with swift currents. Rohrī on the eastern bank is situated on a rocky precipice, 40 feet high and so escapes inundation during the rains. It is a quaint old town with narrow streets, old houses, and innumerable mosques. Sakkar on the western bank is a more prosperous town and looks more picturesque with its groves of date-palms. In the present times, the town is connected with an engineering scheme known as the Sakkar Barrage to bring fertility to the Sind province.

Humāyūn halted at Rohrī, and chose the pleasant garden known as Chārbāgh of Biru² for his residence and al-

¹ The other variants of the name are Ruhri, Lohri or Luhri. The last may have been named from ر, 'the waves' of the eastern channel of the river.

² T. S. Others call it Babarlu. *Jauhar* says it belonged to Shāh Husain. It is probably the present Behralo village.

lotted other residences to his followers.¹ But the whole party could not be provided and so Hindāl moved away with his retainers and encamped 4 or 5 *cōs* further south² and sometime later, with a view to co-operating better with Humāyūn in his operations against Bhakkar, and also in order to provide for a wider distribution of the Mughal followers, he crossed over to the other side of the river. Yādgār Nāṣir M., Humāyūn's cousin, at first stayed in the chief college of the town but later on went over to join Hindāl.

Humāyūn had reached Rohrī on a Wednesday and on the Friday following, he attended the prayers at the *Jāmi' masjid* when *khutba* was read in his name. A poet composed the following lines and offered to Humāyūn:

تا همایون نام او را سکه بر دل نقش کرد - مهر از مهرش دهان سکه پر زر میکند
منبری کز خطبه القاب او زینت گرفت - مشتری گوهرنثاری فرق منبر میکند

“So long as a coin bears on itself the blessed name (of Humāyūn).

The sun fills its (of coin) mouth with gold for its love for Humāyūn.

At the pulpit where *khutba* in his name was read.
Jupiter scatters gems.”

Unfortunately a famine was raging in Bhakkar partly due to the large influx of the Mughals. Humāyūn, during his stay tried to remove the distress of his soldiers but when

¹ T. S. puts the number at 2 lacs and says that the camp was one *farsakh* in distance. A *farsakh* would be some 18,000 ft. or say one league.

² *Akbar-nāma* (A. N.) and *Iqbāl-nāma* (I. N.) of Mu'tamad Khān. The last is in 3 volumes of which the first two dealing with Bābur, Humāyūn, and Akbar are rare. T. Kb. T. says Hindāl at once made a move to Bat. Kb. T. by Sujān Rai is incorrect when it says that Hindāl went away to Qandahār from Rohrī.

he found that his efforts were unavailing and corn continued to be very dear, he determined¹ to move southwards.²

At Rohrī or Bhakkar, the Mughals had to deal with Mirzā Shāh Hussain Arghūn who was the ruler of Sind. Multān had belonged to Bābur since 1520³ but so far the Mughals had made no further conquests further south. The unconquered territory was known as Sind and extended up to the sea-shore and had been ruled by a dynasty of rulers who bore the title of Jām. In 927 A.H. (1520 A.D.) when the two Jām princes, Fīrūz and Ṣalāhuddin were fighting against each other, Mirzā Shāh Bēg Arghūn⁴ came from Qandahār, dispossessed both the Jāms of their thrones, and made himself master of the country. Shāh Bēg was the son of the more famous Zunnūn Bēg, the minister of Sultān Husain Baiqarā, the illustrious ruler of Herāt.⁵ Sultān Husain died on the eve of a campaign against the Uzbeks and his children lost their territories to the dreaded Shaibānī Khān. Zunnun Bēg had been exiled to Qandahār by his master and he only escaped further punishment by an offer of a daughter in marriage to the Sultān. After the Sultān's death in 1506 A.D., Zunnun Bēg returned to resume his post of ministry under Badī 'uzzamān, the late Sultān's eldest son. But Badī'uzzamān did not prosper, mainly because he had to accept joint-

¹ T. S. says that one loaf of bread was selling for a *misqāl* (*misqāl* being a gold coin). The statement is an exaggeration but Gulbadan Bēgam in her *Humāyūn-nāma* (G. H. N.) 148, says that the soldiers killed and ate their horses and camels.

² According to *Far.*, T. S. A. and I. N. Humāyūn's stay on this occasion was for 5 or 6 months.

³ See Erskine's *History of India*, Vol. I (Bābur), 398.

⁴ His real name was Shujā' Bēg but was popularly known as Shāh Bēg.

⁵ Bābur devotes a number of pages in describing the particulars of his life and court. See B. N., 256-92.

rulership with his stepbrother, Muẓaffar Ḥusain, who had been the late Sultān's favourite.¹ The two joint rulers fought a battle with Shaibānī Khān, in which Zunnun Bēg was killed. Zunnūn Bēg's son, Shujā' or Shāh Bēg, succeeded him as governor of Qandahār.

Shāh Bēg had been carefully watching the two Jām princes, Fīrūz and Ṣalāhuddīn, and when he got an opportunity he intervened in their quarrel, deposed both of them, and himself occupied Bhakkar, 1520-1, A.D. When Bābur found Shāh Bēg engaged in occupying the Bhakkar district, he attacked and captured Qandahār 1522 A.D. Finding that Bābur could not be dislodged from the new position, Shāh Bēg turned to Sind again and before his death in 1523-4 A.D., was able to make himself the master of the whole province.²

Shāh Bēg, who was a learned man as well as an intrepid soldier, was succeeded by his son, Sultān Shāh Ḥusain.³ Shāh Ḥusain consolidated his father's kingdom and it was in his time that Humāyūn reached Bhakkar. The local governor on behalf of Shāh Ḥusain was Sultān Maḥmūd.⁴ Though Humāyūn, immediately on his arrival, entered into a communication with Shāh Ḥusain, Sultān Maḥmūd was unaware of it, and so taking Humāyūn's approach to be nothing less than an invasion, he prepared to oppose him and partially destroying the Rohrī town, he withdrew to the island-fortress, Bhakkar, with all his retinue and soldiers, and carried away all the boats, for fear that they might

¹ See *B. N.*, 261-2 and 293.

² According to *Jauhar*, Shāh Bēg had read *khutba* in Sind in Bābur's name.

³ Very often he has been called a Mirzā, see *Far*.

⁴ Notice that Bhakkar district formed the frontier of the Arghūn territory and hence Sultān Maḥmūd was called *مرزبان* which is equivalent to 'margrave' in mediaeval German history. See *Kb. T*.

fall into Humāyūn's hands. When Humāyūn wrote to him to surrender the fort and to attend on him in person, Maḥmūd expressed his inability to do so without his master's permission.¹ Still it must be said that the governor treated Humāyūn with consideration: for example, when Humāyūn complained of shortage of provision and sent his superintendent of the market, Mihtar Ashraf, to Maḥmūd, for supply, he gave 500 ass-loads of corn and other provisions.²

As Humāyūn could not secure the fort of Bhakkar nor the allegiance of the governor, he sent two trusted agents, Amīr Ṭāhir, the Ṣadr, and Amīr Samandar, one of his near relations,³ to Shah Ḥusain with profuse promises of reward, a guarantee of his possessions, an apology for his presence in Sind, and a request for support in a proposed attack on Gujrāt⁴. Shāh Ḥusain received the two envoys, accepted the *k̲h̲ilāt* and other presents sent to him, granted the districts Hāla and Kandi on the east side of the Indus, and Pataro⁵ on the west side, for the ex-king's expenses, and promised to repair to the Mughal camp

¹ T. S., A. N. and I. N.

² T. S.

³ T. S., I. N. and A. N. One rarely comes across the word Samandar. In dealing with Humāyūn's adventures in Sind, the word has occurred several times and with more than one meaning. Generally it means the 'sea'. Mīr Samandar indicated an office dealing with the river Indus and its flotilla. It has also been used as equivalent to the Sind province. In this sense Shāh Ḥusain has been called Shah Ḥusain Samandar, i.e., Samandarī, singifying his rule in Sind. Samandarī, also means aloewood, mostly obtained from Sind. See G. H. N. 148 text and n. 4. *Jauhar* has added a third envoy in Qambar Bēg Bārbēgī, the master of the ceremonies.

⁴ T. *kb.* T. G. H. N., 148, T. A. (N. K. edition), 203, *Far.*, 219, *Bad* (N. K. edition), 118.

⁵ Hāla still exists; Kandi is now called Khandu and Petaro is a railway station on the North-Western Railway. Ma'sūm calls it پتارو

and himself to lead an expedition against Gujrāt for Humāyūn's benefit. Further, he sent Shaikh Mirak Purānī¹ and Mirzā Qāsim, his maternal uncle, with a letter deploring the poverty of the Bhakkar district and extolling the riches of Hājkān.² He made out in his letter that at present he was rather alarmed by the presence of the Mughals, but with their peaceful settlement in the districts granted, he would have the advantage of a quick correspondence and would be able to pay his respects with an easy mind and even hope to exert in Humāyūn's interest for the conquest of Gujrāt;³ in the meantime he would make arrangements for the completion of the wedding ceremonies of his daughter.

Humāyūn, who had not many alternatives, was willing to act upon Shāh Husain's suggestions, but his nobles disagreed and before advancing towards the south demanded from the Sind ruler the cession of some forts, e.g., Bhakkar, where the Mughals might place their families and store provisions before undertaking the proposed expedition against Gujrāt. To them this security appeared essential as due to Shēr Shāh's conquest of the Punjab,⁴ a return there was impossible. So they made Humāyūn doubt Shah Husain's sincerity, reject his offers, and led him to make an attack on Bhakkar.⁵

Did the nobles correctly gauge Shāh Husain's inten-

¹ Hājkān was a *sarkār* in Akbar's time. See *A. A.* Vol. II, 340. There is also a *parganā* of the same name. *T. S.* and *I. N.* have Chāch-kān and *T. A.*, has Tatta. Later on *Bad.* speaks of Humāyūn's settlement in Tatta District.

² *A. N.*, *T. S.*, *A. T. S.* and *I. N.*, 25.

³ Khawās Khān, one of the illustrious generals of Shēr Shāh had pursued the Mughals up to Multān and Uch and then returned. See *Kb. T.*, Fol. 227a.

⁴ *T. S. Cb.* says he was Shāh Husain's spiritual guide.

⁵ *T. S.*

tions? Probably not; for, in the first place Shāh Ḥusain had already ruled for 16 years¹ and by this time had fully stabilized his throne. He did not need to intrigue against the Mughals; if he had openly declared against them, they must have given way to his greater resources and, probably, to his better organized army. Also, Shāh Ḥusain's grandfather, Zunnūn Bēg, had been all his life in the service of the Tīmūrid princes and so loyalty or absence of animus against Bābur and his son might have deterred Shāh Ḥusain, as it had done his father, Shāh Bēg, from active hostility towards the Mughals. Actually Shāh Ḥusain and the local governor of Bhakkar rendered good services to Humāyūn, and set aside several districts for the maintenance of his retinue.² Again the grant of a fort like Bhakkar would have drawn Shēr Shāh's attention to him and led to a war ending in the Sind ruler's annihilation, as actually happened to Māldeo the ruler of Jōdhpur, a year later. So Shāh Ḥusain kept two points in view; one to keep himself free from any entanglement which might displease Shēr Shāh, and the other, to show as much regard to Humāyūn as was consistent with his safety. So he supplied him with food and promised him aid in an attack on Gujrāt, but when he asked for a surrender of forts, he refused.

With the refusal, the negotiations also came to an end,³

¹ His total reign was of 30 years or more.

² A similar grant of Kōra and Allahabad to Shāh 'Ālam II of Delhi by the East India Company in 1765 may be recalled.

³ Abul Faẓl's anger blazes forth in *Akbar-nāma* in the following words. 'That sordid one converted duties into disobedience and coming forth by the door of deceit and dissimulation made a display of false though fair-seeming expressions,' see Beveridge's translation, p. 363. *Jauhar* makes Humāyūn write two letters to his envoys, one in which he threatened Shāh Ḥusain with an attack for disobedience and the other in which he asked his agents to return if

and Humāyūn now made preparations for an attack on Bhakkar. Muḥammad Ma'sūm who was originally a resident of Bhakkar makes an observation about Shāh Ḥusain's attitude towards the Mughal attack. According to him, the Sind ruler was absolutely certain of the utter futility of the attack for curious reasons. Humāyūn, a lover of art and artistic representations, was already so charmed with the garden in which he resided, that he would never quit it for any reason whatever and certainly not to conduct a military campaign. The task naturally would be entrusted to his nobles and other followers and they, without the personal supervision of their chief, would achieve nothing. So confident was the Arghūn ruler that he was fully content to leave the defence of the fort to the local governor and to send a few other nobles, e.g., Mirzā Jānī Tarkhān, Daulat Khān, Payanda Muḥammad Quraish, and Mīr Jumla Tarkhān, to his aid. We may pass over the observation so far as Humāyūn's character was concerned,¹ and may accept the statement of Shāh Ḥusain's determination to resist the Mughal attack on Bhakkar. Muḥammad Ma'sūm represents Shāh Ḥusain as so certain of his surmises that he actually at this moment set out on an expedition against Siwistān and ravaged its forts and villages.

So a siege was laid and actually it dragged on for 5 or 6 months,² without any apparent result. Then Humāyūn

Shāh Ḥusain made delays in repairing to the Mughals. *Jauhar* also makes Qambar Bēg return with a number of gifts from the Sind ruler.

¹ It is impossible for us to believe even though Mrs. Beveridge does that Humāyūn was so enamoured of the garden that he would forsake everything else for its sake. If the statement were to be true, we should have seen him at Rohrī for the remaining years of his life.

² *Far.*, 219, T. S. A. and I. N.

abandoned it. One reason was the acute famine raging in the Bhakkar district, as already mentioned. But there was another in the reports about Hindāl's activities. Hindāl, as already mentioned, had been staying at first on the east bank of the river, 4 or 5 *cōs* south of the town of Rohrī; later on he crossed over to encamp on the west bank. Now, he asked for Humāyūn's permission to make an attack on Siwistān, and prevent its capture by Shāh Ḥusain. Yādgār Nāṣir M., comfortably lodged in the college of Rohrī, chose to join Hindāl, and went over to him. Humāyūn got alarmed. He feared that Hindāl might decide to act independently or might choose to proceed towards Qandahār.¹ He refused the request and ordered Hindāl to recross the river and proceed to Pātar situated in Sehwan district about 50 *cōs* south of Rohrī.² Humāyūn explained his reason for the order, that since Shāh Ḥusain had failed in his duties as a vassal, he wished that Hindāl should combine with him and the two together should operate against him. Hindāl obeyed him and proceeded to Pātar. Humāyūn who had planned to combine with him also went forward and in four days reached Bela where lay the camp of Yādgār Nāṣir. There after a halt of 2 days he proceeded on his journey, Yādgār Nāṣir remaining behind. He was told that he would be duly informed of future plans after Humāyūn had met Hindāl, and that he was to keep himself ready to join him at a short notice. At Pātar the two brothers met³ and Humāyūn straightway asked

¹ This was actually reported to him. See *T. Kb. T.*, *R. T.* and *T. A.*

² *G. H. N.* and *Jauhar*. The latter and *T. S. T.* calls the place Bāt or Pāt and *R. T. E.* Batārī. The distance of 50 *cōs* from Rohrī is indicated by *R. T.*, *T. A.*, and *T. S. A.*

³ The distance between Bela and Pātar was six *cōs*. *G. H. N.* has Darbila and Beveridge's note by Haig, Darbela.

his brother whether he had any intentions yet to proceed to Qandahār, which the latter denied and the matter ended there.¹

¹ For a topographical description of Humāyūn's journey, I have relied on Beveridge's note on p. 363 of *A. N.* Both Bela and Pātar (or Batar, Bat, Pat), are mentioned in the *A. A.* Bela is also mentioned by *T. S.* According to *Jauhar* Pātar was 10 *cōs* east of the Indus.

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CHAPTER IV

HUMĀYŪN'S MARRIAGE WITH ḤAMĪDA BĀNŪ

AUGUST 29, 1541 A.D.

Humāyūn stayed at Pātar for some time and used his leisure in visiting his relations. One of his earliest visits was to Dildār Bēgam,¹ Hindāl Mirzā's mother. As it was the first call on the lady, it was of a formal nature and every woman, adult or otherwise, connected with Hindāl, attended the meeting. Humāyūn's attention was drawn to a young girl and when he enquired about her, he was told that she was the daughter of Mīr Bābā Dōst, Hindāl's tutor.² Mīr Bābā Dōst or Mīr 'Alī Akbar Musavī Jāmī was a Persian, who had arrived from the neighbourhood of Mashad,³ and had risen to be a Ṣadr⁴ under Humāyūn. He outlived his master and in the next reign became a commander of 3000. Though one of Humāyūn's officials, he remained attached to Hindāl. The Mīr was regarded highly by the prince and the Mīr's daughter was 'like a sister to him.'⁵ The Mīr was descended from Shaikh

¹ One of Bābur's wives. She is called Dildār Āghācha Bēgam. See *A. N.*, 156, 11. 14-5.

² اُخوند is a tutor, theologian, and preacher combined. The Mīr's duties were to take care of Hindāl and to give him instructions, secular and religious. Bābā Dōst has also been called Maulānā. *T. S.* gives his name as Shaikh 'Alī Akbar Jāmī.

³ See *M. U.* Vol. III, 231 and *G. H. N.* Appendix A., s.n. Ḥamīda Bānū.

⁴ The duties of a Ṣadr have been dealt with exhaustively in '*The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*' by Ibn Hasan, Chapter VIII.

⁵ *G. H. N.*, 150.

Aḥmad, *Zhanda-pil*, the famous saint of Jām.¹

Ḥamīda Bānū, the Mīr's daughter, was present at the meeting as were other women and she was only fourteen years old. Her younger brother,² Khwāja Mu'azzam was also present there. Humāyūn inquired of Hindāl whether the girl had been betrothed or not and was told that negotiations were in progress but the actual betrothal had not yet taken place.³ He then turned to Khwāja Mu'azzam who was standing opposite to him and said, 'this boy is one of my kinsmen and so is this girl.⁴ I would be glad to accept her in marriage.' Hindāl got excited at his elder brother's suggestion of marriage and had good reasons for it. It was not customary to make a proposal of marriage at the first meeting. Also Ḥamīda Bānū was a girl of 14, and of short stature. It would be inappropriate for the tall Humāyūn to marry a girl so young in age and of such a short build. Also one was a Turkī Sunnī and the other a Persian Shī'a. Again, Hindāl consi-

¹ For details of the saint's life, see *the British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II by Rieu, 551 *b* or Beveridge's notes on p. 52 of A. N. Vol. I taken from Rieu. Aḥmad died in 536 A. H. (1141 A. D.). Humāyūn visited his tomb and put up an inscription which still exists, see *J. A. S. B.* 1897.

² *G. H. N.*, 172, and *Haft Risāla-i-Taqwīm-i-Buldān* (H. R. T. B.) no. 45 of Buhār Library, Calcutta, (Risala IV) supports Kh. Mu'azzam being Ḥamīda Bānū's younger brother. It may also be presumed from his presence in a gathering of Muslim *pardab*-ridden women that he was very young. A. N. on page 14 calls him برادر مادری and on p. 227 اخوت اخپانی and H. R. T. B. برادر اخپانی of the Bānū, both indicating that brother and the sister were born of the same mother and possibly of different fathers. *M. U.* Vol. I., 619 calls Mu'azzam برادر اعمانی uterine brother of the girl.

³ *Janbar*.

⁴ I slightly differ from Mrs. Beveridge's translation. Humāyūn was referring to his descent through Māham Bēgam from Aḥmad Jām.

dered Ḥamīda Bānū as his sister and due to the disparity of age called her even his daughter. So he was highly displeased and forgetting the formalities of the occasion burst forth, 'You have not come here to comfort and encourage me,¹ but have come rather to secure a bride for yourself. If you carry out your intentions, I shall leave you.' The reason that he gave out for his objection, was that at that moment a proper alimony for the girl could not be arranged by Humāyūn.

But Hindāl's objections did not hold. His own mother, Dildār Bēgam took the matter in her hand, rebuked and reproached her son mildly in words like, 'You are behaving very rudely in the presence of the king, who nurtured you. You did not have the good fortune of seeing the *Firdaus Makānī*.'² But for the present the prince remained unmollified. Humāyūn, too was highly annoyed and went away from the meeting in a huff. The Bēgam now turned to the king, wrote him a letter in which she expressed her astonishment that he should go away in anger over a few words, and informed him that Ḥamīda Bānū's mother had already interested herself in the matter and was making every effort to bring the girl round. Humāyūn, who it seems had fallen in love at first sight, was gratified at this and wrote back in reply, 'Your message is very welcome to me. Whatever persuasion you may use, by my head and eyes, I will

¹ The word used is دلاسا. The idea is that Humāyūn was to encourage Hindāl in the future plans against Shāh Ḥusain.

² *Firdaus Makānī* is Bābur's title, given to him by the biographers after his death. It was customary in the mediaeval times to refer to a king who was dead, by his title and not by his name.

Dildār Bēgam's statement need not be taken too literally. What she means is that Hindāl had not known Bābur so intimately as he did Humāyūn.

agree to it. As for what they have written about alimony, please heaven, what they ask will be done. My waiting eye is on the road.' Humāyūn being in an expectant mood, Dildār Bēgam was easily able to bring him to her place and hold a party in his honour. Next she turned to her son, brought him to the king and later on obtained his consent to the king's proposal of marriage.

All possible objections to the marriage having been removed everybody was happy. But the happiness was premature. For, when Humāyūn in his next visit to the Bēgam expressed a wish to meet the girl, the latter refused to come, observing, 'If it is to pay my respects, I was exalted by paying my respects the other day. Why should I come again?'¹ The king bore the repulse, tried next to interest Hindāl in the matter, was unsuccessful, and then asked Subhān Qulī to fetch her. But the girl still went on refusing by observing "To see kings once is lawful, a second time it is forbidden. I shall not come."

Now Dildār Bēgam again set herself to get over the hitch that had now cropped up. She argued with her saying, "After all, you will marry someone. Better than a king who is there?" Out came at last my little lady with the reason of her objections, "Oh yes, I shall marry some one; but he shall be a man whose collar my hand can touch and not one whose skirt it does not reach." So the whole objection was about her small stature in contrast to the tall Humāyūn.

The nature of the objection being now known, it was possible to proceed further. But it was full forty days before the Bēgam's speeches, arguments, and persuasions

¹ The quotations are from Mrs. Beveridge's translation of *G. H. N.*

had any effect. At last she succeeded.¹

Then amidst rejoicings the marriage took place on August 29, 1541.² The king, who took pride in his knowledge of the stars acted as his own astrologer, fixed the auspicious hour for the ceremony, and for fear of negligence on the part of others took the astrolabe in his own hands, and when the hour commenced, ordered Mīr Abul Baqā 'to make fast the marriage bond.' Though we are not told what alimony was fixed for the bride, the amount paid to the Mīr has been mentioned as two lacs³ in ready money.

It remains for us to make a few observations on the marriage.

1. The disparity of the ages of the bridegroom and the bride is not always so great as it was in the case of Humāyūn and *Hamīda Bānū*. Usually in the mediaeval times, a boy of eighteen or so would be married to a girl of thirteen or fourteen.⁴ *Hamīda Bānū*'s objection was

¹ The Muslims generally avoid a forced marriage. See Mrs. Mīr Hasan 'Alī's *Observations on the Mussalmans* (M. H. A.) published by the Oxford University Press, 181.

² G. H. N. says it was a Monday of *Jumād-al-awwal* 948 A. H. and so does T. Kb. T. Though I do not find any indications as to which Monday of the month was meant it is likely that it was the first Monday. See A. N. Tr., 364.

³ I believe of copper. Gulbadan Bēgam writes the account in Akbar's reign and so would naturally be thinking in Akbar's coins. A. A. always gives an account of the income of the *subahs*, the *sarkārs*, and the *paraganas* in *dāms*. Thus two lacs of *dāms* would be Rs. 5,000. Mrs. Beveridge on p. 151 n. 1. rightly considers 2 lacs of silver to be too large a sum for Humāyūn to spare at that moment and suggests that the two lacs was the sum given as dower. It does not appear to be a correct inference; for Gulbadan Bēgam expressly states it was given to the Mīr. Ordinarily the priest's marriage fee is a few silver coins. See Herklots's *Islam in India* (J. S. I. I.) published by the Oxford University Press.

⁴ See H. I. I., 58 and M. H. A., 184.

not to this disparity of age but to the stature of the proposer. Humāyūn was nineteen years older than the Bānū, but the two remained devoted to each other. For example, even when on their way to Īrān it was thought advisable to leave their babe, Akbar, in Qandahār, the mother chose to accompany her husband.

2. The suggestions made by Vincent Smith and Sir Richard Burn,¹ that she loved somebody else and was *betrothed already*, appear to be valueless. No authority is known to us for their statements. *Jauhar* is the only person who mentions that the negotiations for her marriage were being carried on in other quarters² but he nowhere states that the betrothal had been completed, nor was it likely that Humāyūn if he had known of Ḥamīda Bānū's betrothal would befool himself by asking for her hand.

3. Humāyūn had already several other wives and Gulbadan Bēgam makes mention of at least six of them. Let us take them one by one.

(a) Bēga Bēgam, who was a wife of his youth and who for a long period was his chief queen. At the battle of Chausa 1539 A.D. she had been captured by the Afghāns but was returned in safety to Humāyūn by Shēr Shāh under the escort of his most trusted general, Khawās Khān. Probably she was with the Afghāns at the time when Ḥamīda Bānū's marriage had taken place. Gulbadan Bēgam records one of Bēga Bēgam's meetings with Humāyūn before the disaster at Chausa had taken place, in which she complained of his neglect and Humāyūn had it

¹ See *V. S. A.*, 13 and the *Cambridge History of India* (C. H. I.) Vol. IV., 38.

² *Jauhar's* words are:—

(بادشاه) پرسیدند که جای نامزد شده است - عرض کردند هنوز درمیان است

in writing from her that she would never again make a similar complaint. After Humāyūn's death Akbar was very much attached to her and considered her like a second mother. She stayed within the enclosure of Humāyūn's tomb, supervised its erection, and probably died there in 1581 A.D.

(b) Gūnwar Bībī, by whom Humāyūn had a daughter, Bakhshī Bānū Bēgam. No other details are available of Gūnwar Bībī. Bakhshī Bānū lived to marry Ibrāhīm M., Sulaimān Mirzā's son. After his death in 1560, she married Mirzā Sharafuddīn Ḥusain Aḥrārī.

(c) & (d) The two ladies, Chānd Bībī and Shād Bībī. They were lost in the battle of Chausa¹ and it is possible that they were drowned in the river in an attempt to escape from the Afghāns.

(e) Gulbarg Bēgam Barlās, daughter of Nizāmuddīn Khalīfa, Bābur's chief minister. She was married to Humāyūn sometime before the battle of Chausa and was probably with Humāyūn in his wanderings in Sind.

(f) Mēwā Jān, daughter of Khazang Yasāwal. Gulbadan Bēgam mentions that Khazang was in her employ. Humāyūn married her at his mother, Māham Bēgam's desire. She was a good-looking girl but our authoress was annoyed with her and called her a fraud.

Probably Humāyūn had several other wives when he was proposing a marriage to Ḥamīda Bānū and had also children—all daughters—by them. Ḥamīda, a daughter of Hindāl's tutor, would hardly be expected to be treated as the chief spouse, even if Bēga Bēgam was absent for the moment. But the possibility was that Humāyūn's surviving children being all daughters if Ḥamīda Bānū gave birth to

¹ G. H. N., 33b.

a son, she would be treated with consideration. Actually she became the mother of a son fourteen months later, and though her family did not boast of a royal lineage, she became the chief companion of her husband.

(4) It is another Sunnī-Shī‘a marriage. The first noticeable marriage of this kind had been between Bābur and Māham Bēgam.¹ Both the marriages were happy and had far-reaching effects. Out of their toleration grew affection for each other and this affection for an individual enlarged into a regard for the sect of the individual, which in its turn, extended into a toleration of the other religions. Thus, the liberal views of the early Mughals in India were to some extent due to the Sunnī-Shī‘a marriages.

(5) It is noticeable that in the account of Humāyūn’s marriage with Ḥamīda Bānū many of the usual details are wanting, e.g., the amount of *mahr* or *sadqa*, marriage gift, settled on the bride.² Probably the king’s indigence and the political anxieties of the moment cut down many of the unessential rites or superfluous expenses. Still Abul Faḥl mentions the showering of coins ‘on the head of the world and rejoicing of hearts by blissful favours.’ A poet of Jām, Ḥasan³ Hijrī, described the marriage in a poem.

The festivities over, Humāyūn had to turn to other matters. Hindāl was a hot-headed youth and though usually attached to his eldest brother, sometimes separated from him. He did so now. The reason seems to

¹ See the author’s article in the *Indian Culture Vol. IV. No. I. 1937* on ‘Some women relations of Bābur’.

² For the details of a Muslim marriage see *M. H. A.* or *J. S. I. I.* Gulbadan Bēgam gives a full account of Hindāl’s marriage.

³ See *Bad.* Vol. III., 386-8. The author gives three illustrations of his verse.

be Ḥamīda Bānū's marriage, to which, in spite of his consent, he bore a dislike. Whatever the reason, we find Hindāl leaving Pātar, not on an expedition against Shāh Ḥusain in conjunction with Humāyūn but for the distant Qandahār on his own account. Abul Fazl suggests that Hindāl's action was due to the instigation of Qarācha Khān, the governor of Qandahār on behalf of Kāmrān M.¹ Qarācha Khān was Hindāl's well-wisher and actually when the Mirzā reached Qandahār, Qarācha 'respectfully embraced him and made over the territory (of Qandahār) to him.' But this good fortune did not last long for immediately after Kāmrān M. himself came and after a siege of 5 or 6 months occupied Qandahār and carried away Hindāl captive to Kabul. This second attempt on the part of Hindāl to set himself up as a prince independent of both Humāyūn and Kāmrān was as futile as his attempt at Delhi had been two years back.²

Hindāl's desertion dealt a blow to Humāyūn's project of an expedition against the ruler of Sind. Crest-fallen and down-hearted he retraced his steps to Rohrī with Yādgār Nāṣir M. in attendance on him.

¹ See *A. N.* and *T. S.*

² See *H. B.* Vol. I., 216-9.

CHAPTER V

HUMĀYŪN'S RETURN TO ROHRĪ—THE SIEGE OF SEHWĀN, 1542 A.D.—THE DEFECTION OF YĀDGĀR NĀṢIR M.

With the defection of Hindāl Humāyūn's plans were disturbed and he retreated to Rohrī by boat.¹ For a time he lived happily with his new bride. But a famine had been raging² for some time and the Mughal followers chafed at their privations and Hindāl's defection made them think of following a similar course. Yādgār Nāṣir M., who had accompanied Humāyūn to Rohrī was attached to Hindāl.³ The latter while on his way to Qandahār, had asked Yādgār Nāṣir M. to join him and had slowed down his march to enable him to do so.⁴ Yādgār Nāṣir actually had gone over to the other side of the river and was resting at a distance of two *cōs* from the royal camp.⁵

When Humāyūn heard of this attempt on the part of Hindāl to entice away Yādgār Nāṣir from his camp, he realized the seriousness of his situation and putting aside

¹ *G. H. N.*

² According to *I. N.* 45, the famine was due to the fact that the neighbouring zamindars stopped supplying food to the Mughals.

³ According to *I. N.*, Hindāl's defection to Qandahār was the result of consultations held with Yādgār Nāṣir M. See p. 45.

⁴ A portion of Hindāl's letter to Yādgār Nāṣir may be quoted from *T. S.*

بمروزا یادگار نامه نوشت که خود را زود بما رسانید که در اثناء راه انتظار مقدم
شریف ایشان بوده می شود

See also *A. N.*

⁵ *T. Kh. T.*, *T. A.* and *T. S. A.* has 10 *cōs*.

all formalities, went over to Mīr Abul Baqā's quarters¹ on the 18th *Jumādāl-awwal*, 948 A.H.² and held a conference with him. Mīr Abul Baqā was an old courtier and was noted for his learning and wisdom even in Bābur's time.³ The aged Mīr was moved by Humāyūn's appeal and agreed to proceed to Yādgār Nāṣir and to dissuade him from deserting Humāyūn. He went to the Mirzā and obtained a settlement from him on the following terms:

(a) that he should recross the Indus, join Humāyūn on the Rohrī side of the river, and engage himself in Humāyūn's service;

(b) if and when Humāyūn should reconquer Hindustān, he would get one-third of Humāyūn's kingdom in return for his loyal services;

(c) before the conquest of Hindustān, if Kabul came into Humāyūn's possession he would be given his mother's *jāgīr*, viz. Ghaznī, Charkh, and Lōhgarh districts.⁴

¹ T. S. A. has Mīr Abul Ma'ālī and assigns his death to the year 947 A. H. It has many such inaccuracies.

² Several authors have made a mistake about the date. Everybody is agreed that it was the 18th *Jumada I* which corresponds to Friday, the 9th September, 1541. T. S. and M. R. put it down as a Tuesday and Mr. Beveridge as the 11th September.

³ Abul Faḡl put his name first among the illustrious men, courtiers, and companions of Bābur. See A. N. 119. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī*, a work of Shāh Jahān's time puts him down as

در علم و دانش سرآمد اشل علم و صاحب تصانیف مفیده بود

See the manuscript in possession of Sadr Yar Jang of Habībganj, Aligarh.

⁴ A. N., I. N. and M. R., 548.

Lohgarh, now written as Logar is a district in the north Ghaznī. The district takes the name from the chief river in the neighbourhood. In A. A. it has been called a *tumān*, which is equivalent to a pargana. Charkh (or Chirkh) is a village in the tumān of Lōhgarh. See A. A. Vol. II., 406. B. N., 217 has a description of Charkh.

The projected partition was not a very wise proposition. But the Mīr had to prevent him from moving away at any cost and he succeeded in his object and Yādgār Nāṣir abandoned the idea of desertion from Humāyūn's camp, but the Mīr's success cost him his life. The garrison of the Bhakkar fortress had heard of Hindāl's communication to Yādgār Nāṣir and were rejoicing at the expected desertion of the Mirzā. So when they were now told of Mīr Abul Baqā's success in preventing Yādgār Nāṣir from leaving Humāyūn they became furious and retaliated on the aged Mīr by attacking him on his return journey the next day. A shower of arrows was discharged which wounded him and he died on the following day.¹ Humāyūn deeply mourned the Mīr's death². Probably he had always felt that he was indebted to the Mīr for his life.³

The Mīr's death did not prevent the carrying out of the settlement by Yādgār Nāṣir M. After 5 or 6 days he crossed the Indus and paid his homage to Humāyūn. His presence naturally heartened the ill-starred Mughal chief.

All this time Humāyūn had retained one of Mirzā

¹ The death took place on Sunday, the 11th September, 1541

² Humāyūn's words, though an exaggeration, may be quoted, from *A. N.* 'The oppositions and contumacies of brothers, the ingratitude of those whom his salt had nourished and the helplessness of comrades and friends whereby the kingdom of India had been lost and many troubles had appeared were all but one side to (i.e. were all equalled or balanced by) the loss of the Mīr; nay, those calamities did not equal this one.' See also *I. N.*, 45 and *M. R.*, 548.

³ See *A. N.* tr., 366, n. 1, or *H. B.*, Vol. I, 13.

Gulbadan Bēgam glosses over the Mīr's death and merely says that he died of تشویش 'trouble.' See *G. II. N.*, 151 the text and n. 2 by Mrs. Beveridge.

Shāh Ḥusain's¹ envoys, Shaikh Mirak Purānī.² Thinking that his political situation had improved with Yādgār Nāṣir's arrival he now granted the Shaikh his *congé*, and wrote again to Shāh Ḥusain to come and pay his respects. Once more the Sind ruler promised everything on paper but actually never took the trouble of repairing to Humāyūn's camp.

Humāyūn had improved the condition of the Bhakkar district by his stay there.³ In Abul Fazl's words, 'that bad country by the benediction of kingly justice had turned its face towards civilization and become rich in corn and vegetable.'⁴ Hence food-scarcity was over for the time being and his followers had no complaint on the score of food supply. But Humāyūn was getting tired of inaction. So once more he decided to move southward. In order to appease Yādgār Nāṣir he gave him the district of Bhakkar,⁵ and himself moved southwards to Schwān,⁶ at a distance

¹ T. S. A. always calls him Shāh Ḥasan (not Ḥusain) Arghūn or merely Shāh Ḥasan.

² Shaikh Mirak was a resident of the town of Puranō, hence he was given the title of Purānī. Puranō lies 20 miles due west of Nawaz Dahri, a railway station on the North-Western Railway.

³ According to G. H. N. Humāyūn stayed at Rohri for a month. Our chronology of the events is

- (a) Humāyūn's marriage with Ḥamīda Bānū, August 29, 1541.
- (b) Stay at Pātar till September 2, 1541.
- (c) The journey from Pātar to Rohri, September 2-4, 1541.
- (d) Stay at Rohri, September 4-22, 1541.
- (e) Humāyūn reached Schwān, November 6, 1541.
- (f) The siege of Schwān, November 5, 1541-March 6, 1542.

We do not see how T. S. Ch. calculated Humāyūn's stay at Rohri to be for six months.

⁴ A. N., 176.

⁵ A. N., M. R. and T. S. Ch. put down the beginning of *Jumada II* of 948 A. H. for Humāyūn's march against Tatta. *Jumada II* begins on September 22, 1541.

⁶ Schwān has been variously written: Sewistān, Siwistān, (T. Kh.

of 142 miles from Rohrī as measured by the circuitous route of the present North Western Railway. The Mughals had made the journey by river. When they neared Sehwan a party of the Sindīs made an attack on them. A few of the latter under the lead of Fāzil Bēg,¹ Mun'im Khān's brother and Tarash Bēg disembarked and assaulted the foe who fled into the fortress.² The Mughal pursuers had desired to enter the fortress along with the pursued. But the sun was setting and Humāyūn thought of the sun-set prayers. So the Sindīs escaped unhurt and the fortress remained in their possession.³ With the main Mughal division not supporting them, Fāzil Bēg and Tarash Bēg withdrew before any harm could befall them.

Humāyūn entered the town of Sehwan the next morning, the 17th *Rajab*, 948 A.H. (6th November 1541 A.D.) and at once set to invest the fortress by digging intrenchments all round. The instructions were to make special efforts to demolish the bastions or towers with the help of the mines.⁴

The town of Sehwan situated in latitude $26^{\circ}24'$, longitude $67^{\circ}55'$ is an old town of Sind. Originally it was situated on the river Indus, but now the river has receded to the east and the water communication to the town from the river is by a canal called Aral canal connecting the Indus with the lake

Sehwan : its description.

T.), Sistān (R. T.), Seshan (T. S. A.), Seāhwān (G. H. N., and T. A.), Suhan (*Jauhar*). The correct spelling is given by A. N., I. N. and M. R.

¹ M. R., T. S., and T. S. Ch., call him Fazl Bēg.

² A. N., M. R., and T. Kh. T.

³ *Jauhar*.

⁴ Ibid. See also G. H. N., 44a.

Munchhar, situated ten miles to the west. Schwān is noted for the shrine of Lal Shah Baz, whose memory stands high for sanctity both among the Muslims and the Hindus. The tomb lies enclosed in a quadrangular edifice, covered by a dome and spires and with glazed porcelain tiles bearing numerous inscriptions in Arabic characters. The town had also a reputation for its gardens, one writer going so far as to say that the lower Sind except Schwān was devoid of gardens. There are numerous ruins and mounds in the neighbourhood. At present it is a station on the North Western Railway.

Mirzā Shāh Ḥusain had so far tried to baffle Humāyūn by his dilatory tactics. Since he found now that Humāyūn was more earnest and meant action, he gave up his epistolary good wishes, gathered an army and moved northward. He came as far north as Sann.¹ Immediately after Shāh Ḥusain's arrival at Sann, when he had not fully settled down, Mīr 'Alī Bēg Jalair suggested to his brother officers that he be supplied with 500 followers in order to harass the Sindi ruler by guerilla attacks. But they did not agree². The Sindi garrison of Schwān under its governor Mīr Alek³, had taken the precaution of mounting guns on the ramparts of the fortress, thus preventing the Mughals from approaching it. It had also destroyed the gardens in order to increase the discomfort of the besiegers. Now, with the arrival of

¹ A. N. and T. S. Sann is now situated 33 miles south-east of Schwān.

² *Jauhar* says, because these Mughal officers had been bribed by Shāh Ḥusain. This may not be true. The desperate nature of the proposal probably kept them from supporting the Mīr.

³ T. A. and G. H. N. call him Mīr Alekh.

Shāh Husain, the corn and other food supplies were obtained with increasing difficulty.¹ The number of soldiers with Humāyūn being insufficient he asked for support from Yādgar Nāṣir who sent Tardī Bēg and Mīr Kāsim Bēg with 150 men.²

The siege operations proved a prolonged affair, and the distress of the Mughals became acute leading once more to desertions. Some like Mīr Tāhir Ṣadr and Khwāja Ghiyāsuddīn of Jām³ and Maulānā 'Abdul Bāqī⁴ went to Shāh Husain, while others like Mīr Barka, Mirzā Ḥasan, Zafar 'Alī⁵ son of Faqr 'Alī Bēg,⁶ and Khwāja Muḥib 'Alī Bakhshī hastened off to Yādgar Nāṣir.⁷ There were many more who intended to follow the evil example and some of them like, Mun'im Khān and his brother Fāẓil Bēg were even favourites of their master. Humāyūn adopted a strong attitude and imprisoned Mun'im Khan who was the ringleader.

In the meantime Yādgar Nāṣir M. who had been left behind at Rohrī, continued to stay there.⁸ The Sindīs rejoicing at the division of the Mughals into two camps, one situated at Schwān and the other at Rohrī, made three attacks on Yādgar Nāṣir. The Mirzā showed courage on all the three occasions but it was in the last attack that he

¹ T. A. M. A. says, the difficulties of the Mughals were due to Yādgar Nāṣir's opposition, a statement which seems only partially true.

² *Jaubar*.

³ M. R. calls him Qāzī and states that he had been made a Ṣa' on the day before Humāyūn reached Rohrī. See p. 545, l. 12.

⁴ A. N., T. S., I. N. and M. R.

⁵ T. S. Ch. has Mīr Muẓaffar 'Alī instead of Zafar 'Alī.

⁶ A. N., M. R. and I. N. have Sharaf 'Alī instead of Faqr 'Alī.

⁷ A. N. T. S. adds the name of Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān.

⁸ T. S. says that the deserters instigated Yādgar Nāṣir to go to Qandahār; but he did not choose to go.

earned a real victory and killed several hundreds of the enemy.¹ The victory put an end to the Sindī attacks. Shāh Ḥusain, who had hoped for better results from these attacks, now took recourse to statecraft. He sent his seal-bearer, Bābur Qulī,² to Yādgār Nāṣir representing to him that he was getting old and had no son nor any sympathizer, and that he now desired to marry his daughter³ to him, to make over his treasure to him and, later on, to make over his state by reading the *khutba* and striking coins in his name;⁴ together, they might achieve the conquest of Gujrāt. Yādgār Nāṣir fell into the snare of his false promises⁵ and so when next he received a request from Humāyūn for an attack on Shāh Ḥusain, he delayed. Yādgār Nāṣir's attitude did not change for the better when an agent, 'Abdul Ghafūr,⁶ arrived to urge him⁷ to Humāyūn's aid. Yādgār Nāṣir continued to be negligent of the Mughal interests and even recalled the advance-camp that had been sent at first to keep up appearances.⁸

Humāyūn was alarmed at his new situation. Shāh

¹ M. R. puts down the number of the enemy killed at 360.

² A. N., I. N., and M. R. T. S. calls him Mīr Qulī.

³ According to *Kb. T.* his only issue was a daughter. The words are *سوی دختر وارثی ندارم*

⁴ *Janbar*, T. S. and T. *Kb. T.* slightly differ. *Subh-i-Ṣādiq* says that actually *khutba* was read in Yādgār Nāṣir's name.

⁵ *Kb. T.* says : *مرزای ساده لوح عقل معامله شناس نداشت*

⁶ According to I. N. he was a Turkī and had been appointed *میر مال* master of Humāyūn's treasury.

⁷ According to T. *Kb. T.* and M. R. 550, 'Abdul Ghafūr's tactless speech deterred Yādgār Nāṣir from proceeding to Humāyūn's aid.

⁸ T. A. T. *Kb. T.* and T. S. A. state that actually he had sent aid to Humāyūn before A. Ghafūr had gone to him. But he sent no aid after receiving Shāh Ḥusain's envoys. M. A. and M. J. N. say that he and also Hindāl had opposed Humāyūn on every battlefield. The statement does not appear to be correct.

Ḥusain on his side vigorously maintained opposition to him¹ the Sindī garrison rendering aid by occasional onslaught on the Mughals and now, in his rear, at Rohrī, his cousin, Yādgār Nāṣir, was proving disobedient to him. Humāyūn decided to withdraw from Schwān and on the 17th *Zulqada*, (4th March, 1542 A.D.) he retraced his steps towards Rohrī.² In order to protect himself from Shāh Ḥusain, Humāyūn sent Mun'im Bēg to him with a request that he should follow him and meet him in person for a settlement of affairs. But Shāh Ḥusain having no reasons for being thankful to the Mughal chief, remained in close pursuit but declined the interview. Humāyūn followed the west bank of the Indus and when he reached Bhakkar, desired to cross over to Rohrī. His followers tried to persuade him to proceed to Qandahār, but Humāyūn refused to turn his face to his brothers. Instead, he ordered his men to conduct raids into the neighbouring villages and to cross over by a ford. The crossing of the river proved a hazardous affair, for Shāh Ḥusain had encamped only two *cōs* to the south and any one who strayed too far from his camp was carried away by the Sindīs. The want of boats too was keenly felt and led sometimes to unpleasant incidents. One may be related here. A boat was discovered near the ford and was immediately taken in possession by Tardī Bēg. Mīr Khatang made a request of the Bēg to spare it for the king who desired to carry his dependants across. This was a reasonable request,

¹ *G. H. N.*, 44*a* describes heavy losses suffered by the Mughals. The estimated loss was of 10,000 men.

² *T. S.*, *T. A. Far.* and *T. Kb. T.* extend the siege to 7 months and *G. H. N.* to 6 or 7 months. Among the reasons for raising the siege *T. S.* mentions the occurrence of gales and floods and want of siege-implements. The date when the siege was raised has been given by *A. N.*, *I. N.*, *M. R.*, and *T. S. A.*

for, Tardī Bēg was not using it even for the carriage of his goods. But it led to an altercation, Tardī Bēg calling Mīr Khatang a manikin and the latter making a similar retort. The affray ended in Tardī Bēg whipping the Mīr and the latter ripping open the saddle of Tardī Bēg's horse. Humāyūn, however disgusted he might have been with these petty affairs, acted as a peace-maker. He soothed the Bēg who had been one of the premier nobles under Bābur and under himself, gave him a seat of honour at the next visit, and also a horse and *sirōpā* and spoke words of comfort to him.

Humāyūn's journey was full of hardships and at its end when he reached Bhakkar, he could find no boats to cross the Indus, all of them having been removed from his path at Shāh Ḥusain's orders.¹ After some time, two *ẓamīndārs*, Hāla and Gandum² by name, took pity on Humāyūn and sent some boats for his use. Yādgār Nāṣir made them captives and put them to death³ and Humāyūn who had proceeded to Rohri, bore the mortification. When he neared the town, Yādgār Nāṣir came forward with a number of followers to resist his entry into the town⁴ but desisted at the remonstrances of his chief confidant, Hāshim Bēg.⁵ Other defections occurred⁶ of which the

¹ Or at Yādgār Nāṣir's. See *T. Kb. T.* and *T. S. A.*

² These are rather peculiar names. There is also a place called Hala. Gandum in Persian means 'wheat.' *A. N.* and *I. N.* mention the names of the *ẓamīndārs*.

³ *T. A.*, 51 and *T. Kb. T.*, fol. 282 a.

⁴ *G. H. N.* fol. 44 b gives several minor details in this connection.

⁵ *T. A.*, *T. Kb. T.*, *R. T.*, *M. R.*, and *T. S. A.* give some details here of Yādgār Nāṣir's attacks on Shāh Ḥusain but all of them agree that Yādgār turned against Humāyūn immediately after. According to *M. R.* 551 Hāshim Bēg sent some couplets to Yādgār which caused him to desist from fighting against Humāyūn.

⁶ According to *Far.*, at Yādgār Nāṣir's instigation.

most prominent was the desertion of Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān. Though Qāsim Ḥusain escaped to Yādgār, Humāyūn prevented Tardī Bēg and Mun'im Bēg from leaving him by keeping a vigil throughout the night. In the early morning when Humāyūn had gone away for ablution, a further unsuccessful attempt was made by the nobles to escape. A severe famine was raging in the Mughal camp.¹ Sultān Maḥmūd, be it said to his credit, sent 300 ass-loads of corn to relieve the distress of the Mughals.

Humāyūn's distress was extreme and he desired to don the dress of a recluse, and retire to a hermitage far removed from this world of affliction and of worldlings full of deceit. But his followers, who would be left rudderless on Humāyūn's retirement succeeded in dissuading him from this plan of despair and in instilling new hopes into him. Sometime back Māldēo had been in correspondence with the Mughals and had assured Humāyūn of his loyal services and had gone even so far as to invite him to his territories for shelter,² and to promise aid in future efforts to conquer Hindustān³ or at least Gujrāt.⁴

So the Mughal followers asserted that all was not lost

¹ *Badāūnī's* words may be quoted:—

در اردوی پادشاه فحطی عظیم چنان افتاد که یک سیر غله جواری گاهی یک
اشرفی پیدا نمی شد

See p. 356 (B. I. Series).

² *A. N. T. S.* may be quoted in this connection:

من غایبانه حلقه چاکری در گوش کشیده متروک قدم سعادت ازوم بادشاهی
میباشم - اگر سرادقات همایون این حوالی را مشرف گردانند این بنده با بیست
هزار راجپوت در ملازمت حضرت شده بهر جانی که نهضت فرمایند بجان و مال
خدمتگاری بجا خواهم آورد

³ *T. A.*, 52, and *T. Kb. T.*, fol. 1282 b, *R. T.*, fol. 199b.

⁴ *A. N.* and *M. R.*

so long as these faithful Rājput̄s remained. To Humāyūn the suggestion acted as a ray of light in the surrounding gloom and he determined to make a move in the direction of Māldēo. But before doing so, once more he wrote to Yādgār Nāṣir and besought him to be loyal and faithful and then inserted the following couplet:

ای برخسار چو مه چشم و چراغ دگران - سوختم چند شوی مرهم داغ دگران

“O thou moon-cheeked one, others’ eye and lamp.
I burn ! How long wilt thou plaster others’ scars ?”¹

In this couplet, Humāyūn pictured his desperate situation, regretted Yādgār Nāṣir’s neglect of his duties towards his own master and his flirtation with the Sindī ruler.

But his communication made no impression on his cousin. So he left him behind with a warning that Shāh Ḥusain would not allow him to be master of Bhakkar and proceeded towards Uch on *Muḥarram* 21, (May 7, 1542)² with a view to pass on to Māldēo’s territories.

On their march, almost immediately after, the Mughals fell in with a caravan loaded with corn and other provisions. The sight of the Mughals terrified the merchants and they fled away leaving behind most of their burden. So the provisions fell into the hands of the Mughals. Hunger-stricken as they were, the large supply was a boon to them and for the next few days there was great rejoicing.

The next halt was at Mau. The journey from Mau was a trying one as neither food nor water was easily available.³ At Uch, Humāyūn once more asked Bakhshue

¹ A. N., and M. R.

² T. S. Ch. says that Humāyūn reached Uch on May 7.

³ *Jauhar* relates how on one occasion he filled Humāyūn’s water-flask and none was left for his own, and on another, how he captured a deer for his master and got in reward a leg of venison for himself.

Lankah to meet him and to provide his followers with provisions. On the previous occasion, though he did not personally attend on the Mughal chief at least he had supplied the Mughals with food. Now he neither visited Humāyūn nor relieved the needs of his followers. On the contrary, whenever the Mughals ventured out, these Afghāns deprived them of their money. Thus a month and a half passed in great misery, Humāyūn's people subsisting on bugloss, borage, berry fruits, or their stones.¹

¹ First published in *the Journal of the Sind Historical Society*, August, 1940.

CHAPTER VI

HUMĀYŪN IN RĀJPUTĀNA, 1542 A.D.

Humāyūn started from Uch on *Muḥarram* 21, 949 A.H. (May 7, 1542 A.D.) reached there in the beginning of *Rabī‘ul-awwal*,¹ started from there on *Rabī‘ul-awwal* 14,² and four days later reached Dilāwar,³ about 26 miles south-east of Uch, halted there for three days⁴ and two days later encamped at Wāsilpur.⁵ On *Rabī‘ul-āḥbir* 17, (July 31) Humāyūn encamped 12 *cōs* from Bikānēr.⁶

Before tracing Humāyūn’s journey, it will be necessary to give a brief account of the Rāthōrs and their ruler, Rāo Māldēo of Jōdhpūr. The Rāthōrs or the Rāshtrakūtas had been ruling in different parts of India in pre-Muslim times. One section known as Gāhaḍavālas from their capital

¹ Which begins on June 15, 1542 A. D.

² See Beveridge’s remarks on *A. N.*’s dates on p. 71, n. 2.

³ Dilāwar is at present in Bahāwalpur state. In *A. N.* (text) it is put down as Diwarawwal. *G. H. N.* and *Jauhar* mention it as belonging to Māldēo. It is possible that in reaching Dilāwar, Humāyūn had crossed some of the lands belonging to Jaisalmēr state. This will explain T. S.’s words براہ جیسلمیر براہ جیسلمیر متوجہ مالدیو گشت would indicate traversing the lands belonging to the Jaisalmēr state. See also *G. H. N.* It would appear from *T. A.* that there was a good deal of fighting between the Mughals and the Bhātīs of Jaisalmēr.

⁴ *Jauhar*. He mentions that Shaikh ‘Alī Bēg requested Humāyūn to grant him permission to capture the place, but the latter refused, observing that the possession of Dilāwar would not make him the monarch of the world.

⁵ There are several variants of the name.

⁶ *G. H. N.* seems mistaken when she makes Humāyūn go to Jaisalmēr. She was not present in Humāyūn’s camp but writes on hearsay. *T. S.* makes some of Humāyūn’s men go to Bikānēr.

Gadhīpur or Qanauj ruled in eastern Hindustan.¹ Under them Qanauj had a glorious history and had formed a cultural centre for the Hindus of North India and it was the Brahmans and Kayesthas of Qanauj that carried the torch of Aryan civilization to Bihar and Bengal. Jayachandra, (1170-94 A.D.) the ruler in the time of Muḥammad Ghurī, was also noted as a patron of learning.² After his death at or after the battle of Chāndwār,³ the Rāthōrs under his grandson, Sihājī,⁴ retired to Mār wār or Mārū wār,⁵ the land of death,⁶ conquered Kher in Mallani district and the whole of the Pali district and 'planted the standard of the Rāthōrs amidst the sand hills of the Luni in 1212.' From the commencement of the 13th century to the present day the Rāthōrs have been the ruling clan in Jōdhpūr. The government is conducted on a feudal basis, in which the Rāthōrs

¹ See V. Smith's *Early History of India*, the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, 53. *C.H.I. Vol. III* on p. 51 denies that the Rāthōrs and the Gāhaḍavāls are the same. See also Vaidya: *Mediaeval Hindu India III*, 217-21; Reu: *History of the Rashtrakutas*; Reu: *Marwar Ka Itihas*; Roy: *Dynastic history, Vol. I*, 551-2; Tripathi: *History of Kanauj*, 299-300; Ram Karan; Sir Asutosh Jubilee Vols. *Orientalia Pt. II*, 259-61; and articles in *Epigraphica Indica, Vol. X* and *Indian antiquary, Vol. XL*.

² But his feud with the more famous Prithvīrāj of Delhi and Ajmer, the abduction of his daughter, Samyogita by his rival, Prithvīrāj, on the day of her *swayamvara* and the occupation of Hindustān by the Muslims after his defeat and death, have tarnished his fame and lessened the merits of his more peaceful achievements. Reu and Tripathi deny many of the facts of the *Prithvīrāj Rāsō*.

For a glimpse of the glory of Qanauj under Jayachandra see Tod's *Rājasthān, Vol. II*, 6 and Tripathi 321-5.

³ Near Fīrūzābād. See *C. H. I. Vol. III*. Bisheswar Nath Reu's *History of the Rashtrakutas*, 127 calls it Chandaval.

⁴ According to Reu, after Jaya's death, his son, Harish Chandra ruled for some time in Benares and Siha, his son, retired to Khor and Mahni (Farrukhabad district). Later on Siha retired to Mār wār.

⁵ Generally known as Jōdhpūr state from its headquarters.

⁶ It is also stated that Mār wār is derived from Madhyawār or central region, Jōdhpūr being Central Rājputāna.

and the other Rājput clans i.e., Oswals have a share. The ruler, known at first as Rāo, then as Rājā and lastly as Mahārājā, acts as the head of the Rāthōr community.¹

Its most illustrious ruler was Rāo Māldēo² who ascended the throne after the sudden death of his father Rāo Gangājī in 1531 A.D.³ Immediately after his accession,

¹ Amidst the long list of the rulers of Jōdhpūr, a few only may be mentioned here.

(a) Rāo Sihājī, the grandson of Jayachandra of Qanauj. He along with his brother, Saitram migrated from Qanauj and after a brief but most momentous journey settled in the Mallani and Pali districts of Mārwar, 1212 A.D. and died 1273.

(b) Rāo Ranmaljī succeeded to the state in 1408 A.D. He extended his possession and included Mandor, so named after a local Rishi five miles to the north of the present Jōdhpūr. But Ranmal who had married his sister, Hansabāi, to Rānā Lakshjī or Lākhājī of Mewār, chose to reside at Chitor in the reign of Rānā Mokālī, Lakshjī's son. Ranmal was 'in stature almost gigantic and was the most athletic of all the athletes of his nation.' He helped his nephew in the administration of Mewār. A conspiracy was formed and he was murdered 1438 A.D. He had the reputation of an administrator and was credited with such reforms as the equalisation of weights and measures in Mandor state.

(c) Rāo Jōdhājī transferred his capital from Mandor to Jōdhpūr in 1459 A.D. at the behest of a *yōgī*, who desired him to settle five miles to the south on the projecting ledge of a range of hills. The ledge had been so long called *Bakurchiria* the birds' nest, but the *yōgī* christened it Jōdhagīr, the hill of Jōdhā. The palace within the fort is an imposing structure and serves as a striking example of mediaeval Rajput architecture. Jōdhājī ruled for 50 years and died in 1488. The sculptures at Mandor were mostly carved in his time and at his orders. At Jōdhājī's suggestion, one of his sons, Bikājī, was able to found the Bikānēr state in the very year that Jōdhājī ascended the throne and maintained its separate existence. Jōdhā's great-grand-daughter was the celebrated Mīrā Bāi.

² The Muslim writers often did not recognize the independence of the Hindu rājās and called them *zamīndars*. With regard to Rāo Māldēo the following sentence from T. A. 52 may be quoted.

مالديو كه يكي از زمينداران معتبر هندوستان بود و دران زمان بقوت و
جمعيت او در هندوان ديگر نبود

³ See Reu: *Mārwar ka Itihās* (R. M. I.), 115.

he began the conquest of the numerous petty principalities that lay on his border. Thus we find a mention of the following places among his conquests: Sojhat, Nāgōr, Ajmēr, Merta, Jaitāran, Bilara, Bhadrajuns, Mallani, Sivāna, Didwāna, Pachbhadra and Bali in Mārwar, also the larger half of the state of Bikānēr. From Jaipur state he took the districts of Jalgor Tonk, Toda, Malpur, Chersu, Kosli, and Bahu.¹ He continued to rule till 1562.

That between two such mighty conquerors as Māldēo and Shēr Shāh there should be friction is nothing to be surprised at.²

Rāo Māldēo and Shēr Shāh.

(a) Their common boundary: after Ajmēr had been included in Mārwar state and after Shēr Shāh had also taken Agra and Delhi, the territories of the two conquerors met at several places e.g., at Biana. The indefiniteness of the boundaries was bound to lead to misunderstanding and quarrels. (b) Rāo Māldēo had

¹ See S. R. Sharma's article entitled, *Sher Shah and Maldeo in the Journal of Indian History*, Vol. V, 1927. Tod's list in *Rājasthān*, Vol. II, 19-20 is much longer.

To-day a traveller meets with numerous relics connected with Rao Māldēo. We shall content ourselves with the mention of only a few of them.

(a) The fort, though founded by Rāo Jōdhājī, was largely extended in Rāo Māldēo's time and the Amrit *pol* or gate situated near the Amrit *talāo* and also the Loha *pol* were built by him. The latter was not completed in his life-time.

(b) He is also connected with a few beneficial works: Patalia Bera was sunk by him and Rānī Sāgar though built by a rani was included within the fort by Māldēo.

(c) His cenotaph known as *Rāo Māldēo ka dewal* was built after his death in 1562 A.D. by his grandson, Mōtā Rājā Udai Singh in 1591 A.D. It is situated near the *baori* also associated with his name.

² See S. R. Sharma's article mentioned above.

recently completed the conquests of Ajmēr and Nāgōr.¹ Both the districts had belonged at one time or the other to the Muslim kingdom of Delhi. Shēr Shāh interpreted these conquests as Māldēo's challenge to his Muslim neighbours. But since he had no direct dealings with the Rāo and also because just then he was occupied in other directions, he showed no outward sign of resentment. Even Māldēo's conquest of Merta in 1539 A.D. from Rāo Biramdēo, who among the Rāthōrs was only second to the ruler of Jōdhpūr, had not stirred Shēr Shāh to any immediate action. (c) After Shēr Shāh's conquest of Delhi, Rāo Māldēo dispossessed Rāo Kalyān Mal of most of his territories including his headquarters of Bikānēr, April 1541 A.D.² Rao Kalyān Mal sent his brother Bhōjrāj to Shēr Shāh, to whom Rāo Biramdēo had already proceeded. The two Rāthōrs appealed to the Afghān ruler for a redress of their wrongs. Now Shēr Shāh thought that he had a legitimate cause and a suitable opportunity to take up arms against the Jōdhpūr ruler. (d) Rāo Māldēo too must have reflected that a war with Shēr Shāh was now inevitable and so he thought of strengthening his cause by befriending Humāyūn.³ He looked upon the latter as the leader of those Indian Turks, whose achievements under Bābur had resounded throughout India. Probably, he also considered Humāyūn personally a friend of the Rājpuṭs and was aware of his relations with the Sisōdias of Mewār.⁴

¹ See R. M. I., 118-9.

² Rāo Kalyān Mal ruled from 1541-71. Tod wrongly puts down *samvat* 1603 (1546 A.D.) as the date of accession. I follow the *State Chronicles of Bikāner*, the *Rājputāna Gazetteer* and R. M. I. After Māldēo's occupation of Bikānēr, Kalyan Mal had shifted his headquarters to Sirsa and had actually taken part in Shēr Shāh's engagement with Māldēo at Ajmer in 1544 A.D.

³ See C. H. I. IV, 39.

⁴ For Rājpuṭ tradition of Humāyūn's relations with Mewār see

All this had led the Rāo to believe that Humāyūn's expulsion from Delhi was only temporary and that his cause would ultimately prevail. So he had entered into a correspondence with him and invited him to Jōdhpūr promising to support him in regaining Hindustān, June 1541.¹

Let us now turn to Humāyūn. We have seen him last encamped 12 *cōs* from Bikānēr. It had been only recently occupied by Māldēo and probably there was some unrest due to a change of rulers. It would be natural for Humāyūn to stay at a distance from the turmoil and so he stopped for a few days where he was. Now when Humāyūn had actually arrived in the Rāo's territory he became aware of the nature and the extent of Māldēo's ambition and his followers too 'became apprehensive of the deceit and perfidy of Māldēo and represented this to His Majesty'.² They advised caution and so Humāyūn sent Mīr Samandar, one of his nobles to meet the Rāo and to suggest privately what should be the Mughal chief's future course of action.³ The Mīr went and quickly returned and made an unfavourable report about the intentions of the Rāthōr chief but left the choice of future action to his master.

The Mughals had found their journey from Uch to the outskirts of Bikānēr one of fatigue and privations. 'Neither corn nor grass was to be had'⁴ and several among his followers died of thirst or of the hardships of the journey. Sometimes their march had to be continued until they found a well or a lake and then their halt also had to be for a longer duration in order to allow sufficient rest to

Rājasthān, Vol. I, 251-2, also H. B. Vol. I, 114-5.

¹ R. M. I. thinks it was Humāyūn who opened the correspondence.

² A. N. tr., 373.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ G. H. N., 45a.

the men and animals. For example, on one occasion,¹ the journey started when two *pahrs*² of the day still remained. The party travelled for the remaining portion of that day, for the whole night and for three *pahrs* of the next day. As no water was available they had to halt and search the neighbourhood for water. They found there a tank full of water to the brim and then there was general rejoicing and everyone hastened to satisfy his thirst. Next, they filled their leather bags and water flasks; those that had dropped on the way owing to thirst were relieved³ and brought to the camp and those who had died were entombed with proper ceremonies. When everybody had refreshed himself and had taken ample rest, the party restarted. The next halt was at Bilpur and from there they reached Phalōdī.⁴ At Phalōdī the Mughals, after another spell of privations obtained ample provision and were able to satisfy their hunger generously. From Phalōdī Humāyūn wrote a letter to Māldēo, which the latter acknowledged by sending to the Mughal chief some fruits but made no definite promise of aid which could inspire the Mughals. One of Humāyūn's door-keepers, Rājū by name, fled to Māldēo and supplied him with the information that Humāyūn carried with him a number of precious rubies and this information was confirmed by a second deserter, Jān Muḥammad Ishaq Āqā. On hearing

¹ See *Jauhar*.

² a *pahr* would indicate 3 hours or so.

³ *Jauhar* relates how Humāyūn took advantage of a Mughal's distress, obtained a cancellation of a bond of debt in the presence of three witnesses and then only satisfied his thirst. If correct, the story casts a slur on Humāyūn's character.

⁴ It is one of the districts of Jōdhpūr state. See the map attached to the book entitled, "*A brief account of Jōdhpūr*" published by the state. Phalōdī town, according to T. S., is more than 30 *cōs* from Jōdhpūr and is situated on a salt marsh.

this, Māldēo stirred himself and sent one of his confidants, Sankāi of Nāgōr, who visited the Mughal camp in the guise of a merchant and expressed a desire to purchase the diamond that the Mughal chief possessed.¹ The latter was not satisfied with the bona fides of his interviewer and in reply reminded him that such rare diamonds could not be had for money but with the help of the sword or as a free gift from a monarch.² Since the man was in Rāo Māldēo's confidence, the interview prejudiced the Mughal chief, who thought that Sankāi's behaviour confirmed Mīr Samandar's report against the Rāo. Still hoping against hope that he might be mistaken in his opinions about the Rāihōr chief, he sent a second messenger, a Hindu, Rāi Mal Sunī by name, to report to him about the Rāo. It was arranged that if he were unable to communicate with him in writing, he was to do so by pre-arranged signals.³ If Māldēo's trustworthiness was to be indicated, the messenger was to clasp all the five fingers of one of his hands but if hostility and hypocrisy were intended, only the little finger was to be clasped. After Rāi Mal Sunī's departure, Humāyūn did not entirely discontinue his march, he only slowed down his progress.

The Mughal camp moved on two or three stages beyond Phalōdī and it was pitched at Kul-i-yōgī,⁴ (the recluse's pond). Here Rāi Mal's courier arrived and clas-

¹ Beveridge thinks it to be the stone that Bābur had presented to Humāyūn after the battle of Panipat. See *B. N.* edited by Mrs. Beveridge, 477. There is no further mention of the rubies now reported to Māldēo.

² Humāyūn here refers to the possession of the diamond by Bābur after the victory at Panipat and also to Bābur's free gift of it to his son.

³ *A. N.*, 180.

⁴ According to *Jaubar*, Sankāi met Humāyūn at Kul-i-yōgī. *R. M. I.* calls it yōgī-tīrtha.

ped his little finger. In Abul Fazl's words, 'it clearly appeared that the thoughts of this black-faced scoundrel were deceit and perfidy and that he had an evil intention in sending a large body of men under pretence of setting off the welcome.' Abul Fazl, in his loyalty to his master's family, is vituperative towards the Rāthōr chief; but even then he is not wholly blind to the difficulties. He indicates that the Rāo was diverted from his good intentions either by the smallness of the Mughal army or was over-awed by Shēr Shāh's threats. Information must have reached the Rāo of Shēr Shāh's thoroughness as ruler, especially of his reforms in Bengal,¹ and of the steps taken to introduce peace on the Jhelam frontier in the Punjab.² Shēr Shāh had also conquered Mālwa and had returned to Agra towards the end of June, 1542 A.D., leaving the work of appeasement of the province to his chief lieutenant, Shujā'at Khān, assisted by Hājī Khān, Junaid Khān and others. Now at Agra, he was carefully watching the political horizon of Rājputāna and postponed his cherished scheme of proceeding to Mālwa once more and of passing on to conquer the Shī'a states of the Deccan.

¹ Sher Shah had

(a) dismissed Khizr Khān Bīrak, one of his eminent generals.

(b) made military subdivisions of the Bengal province.

(c) maintained the administrative unity of the province in revenue and justice by the appointment of a Qāzī.

These reforms had been completed in 7 months, from June, 1541 to January, 1542 A.D.

² Sher Shah

(a) built a fort on the Jhelam to keep the Khokars in check. It was known as Rohtāsgarh Benares in contradistinction of Rohtāsgarh of Bihār.

(b) organized systematic raids into the Khokar territory. In one of the raids, Rāi Sārang, the Khokar's daughter was carried away.

(c) though usually against the concentration of a large number of troops under individual generals, he made an exception of the Punjab. Consult Abbās Sarwānī, the principal biographer of Shēr Shāh.

During his halt at Agra, he had been fully informed of all that had passed between Humāyūn and Rāo Māldēo.¹ He was observant of Humāyūn's day-to-day march towards Jōdhpūr.

But really speaking, Humāyūn had missed his opportunity. Instead of accepting Māldēo's invitation at once in June 1541 A.D., when Shēr Shāh was occupied elsewhere, he frittered away his time and energy in useless adventures in Sind and now some 13 months later when he had failed in his other projects, decided to turn to Rājputāna. During this period the Mughal chief had grown weaker and his army had melted away,² while Shēr Shāh had extended his kingdom. So Māldēo revised his reading of Delhi politics and hesitated to carry out his promises made more than a year ago.³

Whether Māldēo having once invited the Mughals could establish himself again in Shēr Shāh's confidence is an interesting question and we would like to make a few observations in this connection. First, one should remember that in Mediaeval India no ambitious ruler would allow his neighbouring prince to live in peace unless the latter acknowledged his suzerainty. Even Akbar, who

¹ According to Qanungo's *Sher Shāh*, these negotiations were opened by Māldēo in June, 1541 A.D., when the Afghān king was absent in Bengal.

² Qanungo thinks Humāyūn had less than 3000 followers. See also *C. H. I. IV.*, 39.

³ *T. A.* is very clear on this point, as the following sentence will show:—

دای مالدیو چون از وصول آنحضرت آگاه گشت و خبر یافت که قلیله بآنحضرت

همراه اند اندیشه مند شد چه در خود طاقت مقاومت با شیر شاه نمی یافت

See pp. 52-53. *R. M. I.*, 126-7 thinks Māldēo was sincere and had given Bikānēr in *jāgīr* to Humāyūn for his expenses. It was Humāyūn who got frightened and retreated.

possessed many virtues, destroyed the gallant and the virtuous Rani Durgāvati of Chauragarh because she 'did not submit herself at the threshold of the Shāhinshāh.'¹ Again, a Hindu prince did not always ensure permanent security even by submission.² When to all this was added a conquering ambition in the non-Muslim chief, a clash with some Muslim neighbour was inevitable. Thus in the Mediaeval Indian politics, for two active chiefs like Shēr Shāh and Rāo Māldēo to be independent of each other and to live in peace was an impossibility. And Māldēo had laid himself open to the Afghān attacks by his advances to the Mughals.³

But it does not appear that Māldēo was aware of the full consequences of his own move; for he still continued to hope that either Shēr Shāh was not aware of his correspondence with Humāyūn⁴ or that the Afghān chief with a multitude of work in other quarters would be prepared to condone it.⁵ So when he found Humāyūn approaching him with a miserable army, he stopped short in order to take his bearings anew, forgetting the fact that the alienation of the Mughals would not necessarily bring him into favour with Shēr Shāh.

Shēr Shāh's conduct at this time requires close atten-

¹ See *A. N.* Vol. II., 210. For the same reason Akbar destroyed Ahmadnagar and Khāndēsh.

² According to Kennedy's article on *The Hidaya* in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*, 1835, there could not be a permanent treaty between a Muslim and an 'infidel' state.

³ See *supra* for all the causes of friction between the two rulers. Of course, Humayun was to be made ruler of Hindustān and Māldēo to act only as a king-maker.

⁴ Which, with our full knowledge of Shēr Shāh's spy system, we can affirm not to be the case.

⁵ Shēr Shāh, the administrator, would not allow such a hostile move to go unpunished.

tion. During his stay in Agra, (June, 1542 A.D.) he was organizing his resources. He had been confident that with Mālwa and Ranthambhōr in his possession, a surprise from the direction of Rājputāna was impossible. But a closer inspection of Mewāt and Delhi regions disclosed to him the extent of Māldēo's dominions; for he discovered, so to say, that in Jhajjar¹ Māldēo possessed a town situated at a distance of only 30 miles from Delhi. And now he found that in addition to the extensive conquests, the Rāo was coquetting with Humāyūn and the latter had been allowed to enter Mārwar. So the Afghān ruler who had waited so long, now decided to act and act quickly. Celerity of movement was a strong point with him and in August, 1542 A.D., he entered Māldēo's territory and was actually marching upon Nāgōr.² After 3 or 4 marches, he gave one more opportunity to Māldēo to mend his ways. He desired him to drive the Mughals out of Mārwar or to capture Humāyūn and hand him over to the Afghāns and for either of the acts, the Rāo was to be rewarded 'with Nāgōr and Alwar and whatever other place he asked for.'³ Of course, if neither of the alternatives suited the Rāthōrs, the Afghāns would meet them on a battle-field, as they

¹ Situated in Lat, 28°35', Long. 78°43', it was in the early nineteenth century the capital of an English adventurer, George Thomas.

² For Qanungo's remarks on Shēr Shāh's march see p. 275 n. He rightly rejects *T. A.* when it mentions the occupation of Nāgōr by Shēr Shāh.

Nāgōr, situated in Lat. 27° 10', Long. 73° 50' was a town of considerable importance in Mediaeval India. Thornton's Gazetteer mentions that its income from *sayer* or commercial imposts alone was at one time Rs. 75,000 or more. Its chief today is a feudatory of the ruler of Jōdhpūr. The town is famed for its cows and bullocks.

³ *G. H. N.*, 45 *b.* and *T. S.* Of course Nāgōr already belonged to Māldēo but Shēr Shāh might have claimed it for his Delhi kingdom on the ground that in the past sometimes it had belonged to the Muslims.

actually did some time later.

But Māldēo with a sense of Rājput chivalry and hospitality was unable to carry out Shēr Shāh's desire; neither could he make up his mind to act as the protector of the Mughals. So he adopted the dubious course of preventing the Mughals from approaching his headquarters and if possible to scare them away from his dominions and he did not announce this intention so openly as to convince Shēr Shāh of a complete change in his political outlook.

Humāyūn meanwhile had pinned his hopes on Māldēo and would not be satisfied with Rāi Mal Sunī's report against the Rāo. So he sent a third agent, Shamsuddīn Atkah Khān¹, and waited for his return² and report. Atkah Khān was actually in Jōdhpūr when Shēr Shāh's envoy had reached there³ with a letter from his master in which promises of reward had been made for Humāyūn's capture or expulsion from Jōdhpūr state. Atkah Khān during his stay actually saw the departure of a Rāthōr army⁴ to-

¹ T. A. and G. H. N. According to the latter Humāyūn stayed at Phalōdī so long as Atkah Khān was absent from the Mughal camp. A. N. makes no mention of Atkah Khān. Atkah Khān later on rose to be one of Akbar's chief ministers but almost immediately after was murdered by Adham Khān in 1562 A.D. His tomb is situated in the village of Nizāmuddīn and has been described in the *memoir* no. 10 of the *Archaeological Survey of India*.

² T. A. does not mention the name of the village or town where Humāyūn stayed; only it mentions that it was situated on the confines of Māldēo's territory.

³ T. A., 53; *Jauhar* differs.

⁴ The reason why Atkah Khān was not dismissed has been thus stated by T. A.:

و آنکه خان را بواسطه آنکه آنحضرت را غافل سازد رخصت نمودند

This illustrates Maldeo's hesitancy. If Māldēo had seriously meant to oppose the Mughals, he would do so openly by dismissing Atkah Khān. As the Mughal army was small, no guile or dissimulation was needed to accomplish the capture of Humāyūn and an open opposition would gain for him Shēr Shāh's favour.

wards the Mughals with instructions for capturing and handing them over to the Afghāns.¹

Atkah Khān warned Humāyūn of Māldēo's hostile attitude and so did another well-wisher of the Mughal chief, who had been once his librarian and now after his dethronement was serving in the same capacity at Jōdhpūr.² Both of them strongly advised Humāyūn to retreat and quit the Rāo's territory as quickly as possible.³ Atkah Khān who wanted to return to his master found that no permission from the Rājput chief was forthcoming and so actually stole away without waiting for the formal sanction. Of course, after his arrival there was no other course left for Humāyūn except to beat a hasty retreat.

Humāyūn turned back and retraced his steps to Phalōdī. The Rāthōr hostility, though half-hearted, was apparent; for a large number of the Rājputs were hanging in the rear of the Mughal army. Humāyūn ordered Tardī Bēg and Mun'im Khān⁴ to take charge of the rear and him-

¹ T. A. may be quoted:—

رای مالدیو از کمال بیروتی بران قرار گرفت که آنحضرت را اگر تواند
بدست آورده بخشم سپارد

² G. H. N. gives his name as *Mullā* Surkh.

³ *Mullā* Surkh's words may be quoted. He says, 'March at once from wherever you are, for Māldēo intends to make you prisoner. Put no trust in his words.'

⁴ T. A., G. H. N. and *Jauhar*. A minor incident is noticed at the commencement of the retreat and may be related here. Two Hindu spies were found loitering about the Mughal camp. They were arrested and were ordered to be put to death. In desperation, both the prisoners released themselves, snatched a knife and a dagger from the guards and killed 17 men and animals including Humāyūn's riding horse. When Humāyūn asked the loan of a horse and some camels of Tardī Bēg, the latter refused. When Humāyūn was about to ride *Jauhar Aftābchī's* camel, Nadīm *Kōkab* ran up and offered his mother's horse. Humāyūn gratefully accepted the offer.

self with the ladies and a few followers¹ travelled at a safer distance.

After reaching Phalōdī, Humāyūn departed from the onward route. Instead of going straight to Dilāwar, he had to try his luck elsewhere and so he chose a more eastern route and reached Sātalmēr,² about two miles north-west of Pōkaran, his objective being to reach the neighbouring state of Jaisalmēr.

During his retreat, Humāyūn met other Rājput contingents. Once his rear force while pursuing the enemy, lost its way and could not return. In the meantime another contingent of the Rājputs³ appeared and straightway attacked Humāyūn's small party in a defile. It was only the Mughal chief's personal valour and supervision of defence that enabled him to escape unhurt.

Humāyūn reached Jaisalmēr⁴ in the beginning of

¹ T. A. adds the name of Timar Sulṭān and G. H. N. calls him Ishān 'Timur Sulṭān and adds the name of Yādgār Nāṣir M. The last portion of his statement is incorrect.

Several writers have supplied the name of some of the followers, who totalled 20 or 22 in all.

² Sātalmēr is in ruins now. It was founded by Rāo Sātal who ruled 1488-91 A. D. The population, after the decay of the town, shifted to Pōkaran. Today, the site of Sātalmēr is marked by a Jain temple and several cenotaphs of the local chiefs.

G. H. N. makes Humāyūn go first to Jaisalmēr, then to Sātalmēr and last of all to Phalōdī and states that the Mughals travelled 60 cōs a day. We have rejected these statements.

³ According to *Jauhar*, the Rājput contingent was in 3 sections each 500 strong and Humāyūn's soldiers were only 18 in number. *Jauhar* in his zeal has extolled his master's heroism over-much. See A. N., T. S. and T. A. G. H. N. states that Humāyūn was not present in the battle.

⁴ The journey to Jaisalmēr was wearisome mainly because of shortage of water. A halt was made as soon as a well was reached. Sometimes its water lay so far below the surface of the ground that a long rope had to be used for drawing water in a bucket. The bullock-driver had to be told to stop by drum when the bucket reached the top of the well. Sometimes the men were so thirsty that they did not

Jumādal-awwal, (13th August, 1542 A.D.). It was at Jaisalmēr that Tardī Bēg, Mun'im Khān, and their party joined their master.¹

wait for water being poured out of the bucket. Once when some of them threw themselves on the bucket, in the rush the rope broke and the bucket dropped into the well. Several in despair followed the bucket and threw themselves into the well. On this occasion Humāyūn had spared his water-bottle for general use. Again when after a wearisome journey under a tropical sun, water was found, it was drunk so eagerly that not a few died of sun-stroke.

A. N., G. H. N., *Jauhar* and others give a dismal picture of the journey. G. H. N. makes Māldēo follow the Mughals in person. Several of the writers describe how on one occasion when four wells were discovered, they were distributed among the members of the camp.

A general complaint is noticed against Tardī Bēg's selfishness or his churlish behaviour.

¹ According to *Jauhar*, they had already raided the neighbouring villages and were feasting near a tank when Humāyūn reached there. Jaisalmēr was reached afterwards. As the Muslims had slaughtered cattle, there was a *fracas* between Humāyūn's men and some villagers. Henceforth the Rāja of Jaisalmēr was hostile to the Mughals and in order to harass them, he ordered his son to fill every well on their path with sand. Precautions were taken against night-surprises; still an Afghān, sent by Shēr Shāh, reached Humāyūn's bed and seized the latter's sword but fearing capture he fled.

Jaisalmēr state lies between 26° 4' and 28° 23' north Lat. and 69° 30' and 72° 42' Long. and has an area of more than 16000 square miles. It is sparsely populated, the total population of the state being less than a lac. Probably in the whole of India its density of population is the lowest; in 1901 it was only 4.57 per square mile. The chief reason for the sparseness of population is the desert condition of the state, there being no perennial river and also the extremes of heat and cold in that region. In summer scorching winds blow while the winter nights frequently register temperature below the freezing point. The average annual rainfall is 6 or 7 inches and the soil consists of shifting sands, locally known as *dbrian*. Near Shāhgarh, the most populous town of the state, these *dbrians* extend over many miles and frequently change the appearance of the plain, 'the sand being in one place scooped out into funnel-shaped hollows and in another thrown up into beautifully rounded hills.' The region being of such a desolate appearance, the failure of crop is almost an annual feature. The state though third in area in the whole of Rājputāna, has comparatively a poor income.

When Humāyūn had reached Jaisalmēr he had fondly hoped that he would receive a more cordial reception from its Rāwal than he had had from the Rāo of Jōdhpūr. But he was grievously disappointed.¹ Rāi Lonkaran,² the Bhātī ruler of Jaisalmēr, set himself in opposition to Humāyūn from the start and set guards over the few water-ponds available to the Mughal camp. 'The royal army which had experienced the toils of the desert and had come from a wilderness of mirages to this evil halting-place, was put to trouble from want of water.' In the fight for

The town of Jaisalmēr, the headquarters of the state is situated in Lat. 26° 55' and Long. 70° 75'. It was founded by Rāwal Jaisal in 1156 A.D. and was named *Jaisalmērū* (hill-fort of Jaisal). The town is surrounded by a stone-wall 3 miles in circuit 15' high and 5' to 7' thick but much of the space within the walls remains unoccupied.

The fort stands on a hill and contains the ruler's palace, 'an imposing pile crowned by a huge umbrella of metal mounted on a stone shaft, a solid emblem of dignity, of which the Bhātī chiefs are justly proud.' The most prominent building next to the Mahārāwal's palace is the six-storeyed house of Diwan Sālim Singh.

The Rājput̥s of the state are *Chandrabansīs* and trace their descent from Jadu or his successor, Sri Kṛishna of Dwārka. They also took the name of Bhātī after one of their chiefs who lived in the distant past, so that today they are known as Bhātīs or Jādōn Bhātīs. The ruling family first came to Tanot in the eighth century under Mangal Dēo but it was his twelfth descendant, Rāwal Jaisal, who founded the present town of Jaisalmēr. The ruling family boasts of an uninterrupted line of succession for the last 800 years. It was generally left undisturbed by the Muslims of the pre-Mughal period and under the Mughals, the rulers served the Delhi empire.

In a way the most notorious personage of the state was Sālim Singh, the Dīwān of Mulraj II who ruled 1762-1820 A.D. Sālim Singh appears to have been the very incarnation of evil 'uniting the subtlety of the serpent to the ferocity of the tiger'. His death occurred in 1824 A.D. of poison administered, it is said, by his wife.

¹ The reason of the Rāwal's hostility to the Mughals seemed to be the slaughter of cows by the latter. See *Jaubar*.

² Mentioned as Lunkaran by the Rājputāna Gazetteer 13, as Noonkaran by *Tod* and as Sonkaran by *T. S.* There has been another ruler of the same name in Bikānēr who had ruled from 1504-26 A.D.

the possession of the pond, according to Abul Fazl, 'the tigers of fidelity's forest advanced and showing their superiority, defeated the vile crew.'

The party had to make a hasty move¹ and on the 10th *Jumāda I* (August 22, 1542 A.D.) reached Amarkōt.²

The ruler, Rānā Vīrsāl³, gave the Mughals a cordial reception,⁴ so that after four months of privation they now found rest at Amarkōt. Humāyūn and his ladies were placed in the Rānā's palace in the fort and his followers were lodged outside. Things were cheap here and the Rānā for some time, 'made gifts of kids and so on and paid such fitting service as no tongue could set forth'.⁵ But

¹ On the way when the party was 10 *cōs* from Amarkōt, Nadīm *Kōka* asked for the return of his mother's horse which was in the use of Hamīda Bānū. Humāyūn returned the horse, gave his own to the Bānū and ordered a camel for himself from the water department. But he was relieved of the trouble by the offer of a horse by Khālīd Bēg. See *Jauhar*.

² According to *Jauhar*, Humāyūn reached there with only 7 followers. The rest were lagging behind.

Amarkōt formed a small state of the Sōdha Rājput, with whose ruler the Rāwal of Jaisalmēr had formed marital alliances in the seventh and the eighth centuries. The state changed hands more than once and in the middle of the sixteenth century belonged to the Arghūns of Sind, under whom a Muslim governor was located at Amarkōt. This must have happened after Humāyūn's departure from the place. In the eighteenth century it was acquired by Jōdhpūr but in 1813 A. D. it was wrested from the Rāthōrs by the Tālpūr Amīrs. Since the conquest of Sind by the English in 1843 A.D. it is included in Sind and the British government pays Rs. 10,000 a year to the Jōdhpūr ruler for his claims on the Amarkōt *Ta'alluqa*. The town is famous in history for being Akbar's birth-place.

³ I follow T. S. in calling the ruler, Rānā Vīrsāl. Parshād is hardly ever a Rājput's full name.

⁴ T. A. may be quoted in this connection:—

حاکم امرکوت که بصفهت مروت اُتصاف داشت باستقبال آمده دست قدرتش

بانچه میرسید بر طبق عرض نهاد

⁵ G. H. N., 48a. For many of the minor details see *Jauhar*.

the Rājput chief, small as were his resources could not fully relieve the distresses of the Mughals; so after a few days he stopped the free gifts and supplied provisions on payment. Humāyūn at first paid from his treasure-chest; when it became empty¹, he asked some of his nobles to contribute their quota. Humāyūn himself had been liberal to extravagance when funds were available; so he now expected that there would be a willing response to his request. However reasonable the request, the nobles grumbled; for so far they had not been used to such requests, the duty of supplying provisions for camp was that of the leader. Tardī Bēg had been especially mentioned as opposed to the proposal, with the result that Humāyūn had to seek the Rānā's support in despoiling his own followers of their riches.² The only excuse that Humāyūn could offer for his high-handedness was that it was a dire necessity that led him to adopt such a questionable procedure and that the plunder obtained was distributed amongst all his followers and that after a fair supply to every one, the bulk that remained was returned to their owners.³ Humāyūn's restraint on the

¹ According to *T. A.* and *T. S. A.* Humāyūn had spent all his money on his followers,

انكفرت آنچه در خزانه داشت بر لشکریان بخشش فرمود

But as he had only a small sum, every one from amongst his followers did not get a share and so his request to his nobles including Tardī Bēg. See also *G. H. N.*

² *C. H. I., IV.*, 39. A portion of the sum thus obtained was spent in rewarding the Rānā and his sons. *T. A.* says that they obtained gold, a belt and a dagger each. *G. H. N.* says that Tardī Bēg gave 80,000 *asharfīs* in loan at the rate of two in ten i.e. at an interest of 20%. *Jauhar* says that Humāyūn sent for his nobles, detained them in his presence, while Shāh Muḥammad Khurāsānī was sent to make a thorough search of their baggage. Every article except trays and pots were brought before Humāyūn. *Jauhar* describes his own possessions and explains the method adopted to evade their surrender.

³ *G. H. N.* says that the Mughal officers utilized the money to

occasion lessens the intensity of our condemnation especially when we note that Tardī Bēg did not retaliate the spoliation of his goods by desertion from his master's camp now or immediately after, when he had other opportunities.¹

purchase new horses. *Jauhar* says that one half of the spoil was retained by Humāyūn, the other half being returned to the owners.

¹ Abul Fazl discusses the general question whether a ruler can claim this sacrifice from his subjects and concludes that he can and goes on to say that in Akbar's reign, every one, high or low, was prepared to sacrifice his all for his emperor. While one may question his assertion about the self-sacrificing spirit of Akbar's subjects—for no occasion actually arose to test his assertion,—none would deny the correctness of the first portion of his observation. The state—and in Mediaeval India the ruler represented it—has always a claim on its people's property and person. It is on this principle that taxes are increased or decreased, conscription for the army and various restrictions on an individual's liberty of action or speech are imposed. In this particular case, the only objection that could be raised is whether the small number of Humāyūn's followers could represent a state or even a community and whether Humāyūn had been chosen its leader. On the latter point there could be no difference of opinion for almost all the Mughals present in the camp looked on Humāyūn as their trusted leader and guide. With regard to the former also it may be stated that, though the party did not comprise a state or a community, the members had to look to their welfare and the leader's duty it was to serve the interests of the party as a whole. So however unpleasant it might appear to a modern student, Humāyūn was acting within his rights in acting thus to relieve the distress of his followers.

This chapter was originally a paper read at the third session (1939) of the Indian History Congress held at Calcutta. Another paper entitled *Humāyūn and Māldeo* by Nishith R. Ray was also written for the occasion.

CHAPTER VII

THE BIRTH OF PRINCE AKBAR

OCTOBER 15, 1542 A.D.

Humāyūn stayed at Amarkōt from August 22 to October 11, 1542 A.D. He had discovered that Rānā Vīrsāl, though a petty chief, had a personal grudge against Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, who had killed his father, and so was prepared to support him against the Arghūn chief. So on *Rajab* 1, 949 A.H. (October 11) he set on his expedition. He had only moved 15 *cōs* towards Sind when he was given the glad tidings of the birth of a son by Tardī Bēg.

The son, known as Muḥammad Akbar, was born in the early hours of Sunday, *Rajab* 5, (October 15).¹ Recently an assertion was made by Kavīrāj Shyamal Dās² (and it was accepted by Vincent Smith) that *Rajab* 5 is a fictitious date³ and that the prince was actually born on *Sha‘bān* 14. As both of them based their statements mainly on Jauhar’s writings, Jauhar’s statement may be taken first. He says:—

وقت تولد حضرت شهزاده ماه شعبان چهاردهم روز شنبه بود ماه شب چهاردهم
را بدر میگویند پس شهزاده محمد اکبر غازی بدرالدین و الدنیا هر دو عالم افروز
در خانه تشریف آورد و خطاب جلال الدین و بدرالدین یک

¹ Gulbadan’s *Humāyūn-nāma* (G. II. N.) calls it سحر and others شب

² See the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the year 1886.

³ See. V. Smith’s *Akbar* (V. S. A.), 14. It would be fair to mention that Jāfar Sharīf writing in 1832 makes a similar assertion. See his *J. S. I. I.* translated by Herklot, edited by Crooke and published by Oxford University Press.

“The prince’s birth took place on Saturday, *Sha‘bān* 14. The moon of the fourteenth night is called *Badr*. So prince Muḥammad Akbar Ghāzī, the full moon of the faith and the world, the illuminator of both the worlds, came into the house (i.e., was born). The titles, Jalāluddīn and Badruddīn convey the same meaning.”

From the above quotation, it is clear that Jauhar assigns the name of Muḥammad Akbar to the prince¹ and that he thinks Badruddīn as well as Jalāluddīn to be titles. But he does not state that Badruddīn or the later Jalāluddīn was the principal part of the prince’s name. Also, he distinctly mentions that the prince was born on the night of Saturday, *Sha‘bān* 14.² Since it was a full-moon night, the word *بدر* had been incidentally brought in.

When we turn to our tables of dates, we find that the 14th of *Sha‘bān* is a full-moon night but a Thursday. Almost all the contemporary or later historians³ are agreed that Akbar was born on a Sunday. To give one rather striking illustration. Jahāngīr in recording the eleventh of his 12 coronation edicts⁴ says, ‘.....they should not

¹ Abdul Ghani in his book, *A history of Persian language and literature at the Mughal court*, part III, 5, suggests that the name was given in honour of the child’s grandfather ‘Alī Akbar. This will be in accordance with Jāfar Sharīf’s remarks on p. 28 of *J. S. I. I.* For the distinctions of *‘alam*, *kuniyat*, *laqab*, etc. see the latter book 29.

² And not on Thursday as stated by V. S. A., 14. Jauhar also states further on in connection with Humāyūn’s first meeting with Akbar at Jūn on the 20th *Ramāzān* that Akbar was 35 days old. But he makes a mistake in stating Akbar’s age to be 1 year 6 months when he was left behind by Humāyūn in his westward march from Shāl Mashtang.

³ Among the writings may be mentioned, *A. N.*, *M. R.*, *T. A.*, *M. T.*, *T. S.*, *Far.*, *T. Kh. T.*, *T. S. A.* and many others.

⁴ See *Tuzuk-i-jahāngīrī*, edited by Rogers and Beveridge, 9.

slaughter animals. Two days in each week were also forbidden, one of them, Thursday, the day of my accession, and the other, Sunday, the day of my father's birth.' So we may presume that the date which agrees with a Sunday will be the likely date.

Now let us again turn to the 14th *Sha'bān*. It is a full-moon night. But Jauhar does not definitely state that Akbar was born on a full-moon night and no other writer mentions that Akbar was born on such a night. Next, Jauhar says that the two titles Badruddīn and Jalāluddīn have the same sense. Badruddīn would mean the full-moon of religion or faith and Jalāluddīn, the glory of religion or faith. It would thus appear that very early in the prince's infancy.....possibly in the first week of his birth¹.....the title of Badruddīn had been given to him and that slightly later it was substituted by Jalāluddīn. Jauhar points out that the two titles have almost the same connotation and the substitution of one for the other would not signify any change in meaning.

It may be asked here, why Jauhar makes a mention of the 14th *Sha'bān* at all, if the date had nothing to do with the birth of the prince. The answer is that it was the 40th day since the child's birth. The 40th day of a new-born babe is an important day and the 'Aqīqa or tonsure ceremony is performed on that day.² Music and dancing are held the whole night. It being a full-moon night, Jauhar remembered it well and 45 years later, while writing about Akbar's birth, mixed up the two occasions, Akbar's birth on the 7th lunar night and the full-moon night of the 14th *Sha'bān*. To conclude, it must be emphasized that neither of the titles, Badruddīn and Jalāluddīn

¹ See. J. S. I. I., 28.

² It was a *saptamī*, *suklapaksha*, the 7th lunar night.

indicated the phase of the moon on the night of the birth.¹

An explanation may be given for the choice of the title of Badruddīn for Akbar. It is possible that the mother, Ḥamīda Bānu and Maulānā Chānd, who had been left behind to take care of her, chose it because to them Akbar's birth appeared like a full moon amidst Humāyūn's gloom.² The name would appear especially appropriate on the 'Aqīqa night, when there was a full-moon in the clear sky of November.

But afterwards, either when Humāyūn was informed of the child's birth or when Ḥamīda Bānū and Maulānā Chānd joined him some six weeks later, he remembered that the title Badruddīn would not do because already more than two years back,³ he had decided that his first son should be named Jalāluddīn. So the change was duly made.

There is another writer who differs from the traditional date of the 5th of *Rajab* and she is Gulbadan Bēgam, Humāyūn's sister. She was at the time of Akbar's birth with Kāmran, but at the time of writing her book,⁴ she had the benefit of consulting Ḥamīda Bānū.⁵ According to her, Akbar was born on Sunday, the 4th of *Rajab*, 949 A.H.

¹ It may be performed also on the sixth day.

² According to *J. S. I. I.*, 26, the new-born babe should be named in the 1st week or even on the very day of birth as the mother, otherwise, would not get a drop of water to drink.

³ See *Supra*, Ch. I.

⁴ 45 years later in the year 995 A. H. (1587 A.D.)

⁵ As is clear from the authoress's statement in *G. H. N.*, 39a. She actually quotes Ḥamīda Bānū's words.

The question as to which date is correct will have to be settled in the light of the other known fact that it should be a Sunday. According to the mode of calculation at present in vogue, the date would be 5th *Rajab*; but if there be a different system of calculation, i.e., if the previous day was to end only with the sun-rise of the next day, the early hours of the morning would form part of the previous date and hence might be dated 4th *Rajab*.¹

There are one or two minor details which may be taken to corroborate the accepted date. The three dates that have been given by *Akbar-nāma*, viz., the date of Humāyūn's departure from Amarkōt, October 11; of Akbar's birth, October 14; and of Ḥamīda Bānū's departure from Amarkōt, November 20;² all correspond with each other and with the date of Humāyūn's arrival at Amarkōt, August 22. We cannot agree with V. Smith that all these dates have been fabricated in order to make them correspond with the fictitious date of birth, viz., *Rajab* 5.³

The chief argument against Humāyūn's prolonged stay at Amarkōt is the exhausted state of Humāyūn's purse and Vīrsāl's inability to supply provisions to the Mughals without payment. It was this lack of funds that compelled Humāyūn to leave his wife, though she was about to be

¹ There is not much in this argument, for in that case the day should be put down as a Saturday and not a Sunday as pointed out by Beveridge on p. 55, n. 3 of A. N. But his reasoning is slightly different. According to him a Muslim day begins with sunset. Jauhar also states that Akbar was born on a Saturday. V. Smith on p. 132 of *V. S. A.* states that Akbar's birthday was a Sunday. In either of the statements the difficulty of reconciling G. H. N's date and day remains.

² All these events occurred in 1542 A.D.

³ See *V. S. A.*, 14 and 15 n. 1.

confined.¹ Again, it was the inability of the Rānā to support the Mughal guests any longer that made Ḥamīda Bānū start for her husband's camp in less than six weeks of her child's birth. Suppose we were to reject October 15, as the date of Akbar's birth and accept November 23, the date suggested by V. Smith, we would find it difficult to explain the prolonged stay, from August 22 to November 23, of the Mughal party at Amarkōt and especially of the ladies.²

Again, let us consider V. Smith's reason for the choice of November 23 as his date for Akbar's birth.³ He thinks that it was a practice with the Muslims to hide the exact date of birth in order to avert the evil eye and that the official date of Akbar's birth was transferred to the 5th of *Rajab*, it being the reputed day of the conception of the Prophet Muḥammad and the actual date, 14th *Sha'bān* (23rd November), was suppressed. His authority for the statement is Jauhar who was with Humāyūn when the news of the prince's birth reached him and whose information was therefore first-hand.

We have shown above that Gulbadan Begam, Humāyūn's sister, in giving the date, actually consulted the mother of the child⁴ and so she must be considered more reliable than Jauhar.

¹ Humāyūn's poverty was so great that he could not adequately reward Tardī Bēg who brought the welcome news of the birth of son to him.

² T. S. clearly states that:

عمر کوت جائی برداشت لشکر نداشت

³ Of course Jāfar Sharīf and Shyamal Dās suggest the argument to him.

⁴ Gulbadan Bēgam is not always careful to check her facts and is wrong in many of her statements but here she is correct.



Hamīda Bānū, Humāyūn's queen and Akbar's
mother, on horse back

Again, have we any reason to suppose that the practice of hiding the actual birthday, as stated by V. Smith, was so general that it must be presumed to apply in the case of Akbar also? What other examples have we got of such a suppression of dates? Or, are we to assume that the dates of birth as given in mediaeval histories of India are all fictitious dates?¹

Again, let us compare Gulbadan Bēgam's *Humāyūn-nāma* and Jauhar's *Tazkirat-ul-wāqīāt*. Both were written² at Akbar's invitation in or after the year 995 A.H. (1587 A.D.). Both of them might be mistaken in the narration of facts or assignment of dates as they were writing several decades after the events. But it may be reasonably supposed that at least with regard to one incident, viz., the birth of her child, Ḥamīda Bānū's memory would not fail. If our assumption is correct, Gulbadan Bēgam's narration, being written in consultation with the Bānū, is essentially correct.³

An old picture in Alwar State library, reproduced here, is supposed to represent Ḥamīda Bānū, riding a horse during her journey to Amarkōt. The painter is Dāl Chand. The figure on horse-back clearly shows signs

¹ Say, for example the dates of birth of Humāyūn, Muḥammad Ḥakīm M., Jahāngīr, Murād, Danyāl and other later princes.

² And two other writings, viz., Bayazīd Biāt's *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn Bādshāh* and Abbās Sarwānī's *Tuḥfab-i-Akbar Shāhī*. See British Museum Catalogue, Vol. I, by Rieu, 242, 246, and 247 and India Office catalogue by H. Ethe, 95. Gulbadan Bēgam, Jauhar, and Abbās wrote in 1587 A.D., and Bayazīd 4 years later.

³ Notice that both *Jauhar* and *G. H. N.* slightly differ from the other historians. *Jauhar* calls the day of birth a Saturday and *G. H. N.* dates it 4th *Rajab*. Unless we know more clearly the mediaeval practice of dating a particular night, it is not safe to try to explain the differences.

of a delicate condition, and therefore suggests the lady mentioned.

Let us consider now a few other details of the event. Akbar is believed to have been born at about 2 o'clock under very auspicious stars.¹ Abul Fazl has given a detailed description of Akbar's four horoscopes; one drawn by Maulānā Chānd, in whose care Ḥamīda Bānū had been placed, in accordance with the Ulugh Khānī tables or with the altitudes of the Greek astrolabe; second by Jōtik Rai² in accordance with the astrologers of India; the third by 'Aẓduddaula Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī;³ and the fourth by Maulānā Ilyās Ardibīl, one of Humāyūn's courtiers who drew up the horoscope in accordance with the Ilkhānī tables.⁴

Humāyūn, as we have already seen, had left Amarkōt four days earlier and was encamped 15 cōs further westward⁵ when Tardī Bēg Khān,⁶ so long left behind along with Maulānā Chānd to look after Ḥamīda Bānū, took the news of the prince's birth to him.⁷

Amidst Humāyūn's continued disappointments and privations, the birth of a son was a source of extreme consolation. He received the Amīr with delight and by way of reward and largess for the tidings forgave all his past

¹ Born at an auspicious moment which occurs only once in a thousand years. For a description of the details see *A. N.*, 18.

² This horoscope was drawn in Akbar's reign. Jōtik Rai indicates a title i.e., one who was the chief among the Hindu astrologers.

³ As he reached Akbar's court only in 1583 A.D., he could not have drawn the horoscope earlier.

⁴ See Beveridge's note on the horoscopes in *A. N.* tr., 126

⁵ *G. H. N.*, *A. N.*, and *Jauhar* differ.

⁶ *G. H. N.* calls him Tardī Muḥammad Khān.

⁷ There is an excellent picture depicting the rejoicings at Akbar's birth in the M. S. copy of *T. Kh. T.* in the Bankīpūr library. The picture is produced in Mrs. Beveridge's edition of *G. H. N.*

offences¹ and held a *darbār* where the musicians sang songs in honour of the occasion.² Putting aside Abul Fazl's pompous description of the festivities, let us content ourselves with Jauhar's simple description. As soon as Humāyūn was informed of the event, he offered prayers to the Almighty and then appeared before the people that had gathered to congratulate him. He opened a pod of musk brought by Jauhar *Āftābchī*³ and distributed the contents among his audience with the remark, that this distribution was to celebrate his son's birth. Jauhar adds in his memoirs, 'O friend that sweet odour (of the musk) yet fills with fragrance the four corners of the world.'⁴

One or two other details may be given in connection with the birth. The selection of the wet-nurse was made with meticulous formality. Humāyūn had lately promised to Shamsuddīn Atkah *Khān* that as reward for his faithful services immediately after the defeat of Qanauj,⁵ his wife, Jijī, would be appointed nurse when a child would be born. But those who were her seniors in service could not be ignored altogether and so after the child's birth, when the mother had suckled the babe,

¹ G. H. N. For other details see A. N., 20-1.

² How foolish Abul Fazl looks when he makes the modest tent of Humāyūn the 'spacious hall of audience' and describes the simple rejoicings in words like, 'the drum of joy and rejoicing raised a sound like the exultation of Kaiqubād'. The passages, too long to be quoted here, may be read in A. N., 21.

³ We do not know Burn's authority for the statement in C. H. I. IV that Humāyūn borrowed 'from his brother the means to provide a meagre feast for his nobles'. There was no brother with him in Rājputānā at this time.

⁴ His actual words are:

پس ای عزیز همان خوشبو در ربع مسکون چهار دکن عالم معطر است

⁵ See A. N., 166.

she gave him, in succession to Dāya Bhāwal, to Fakhrun-nisā, the wife of Nadīm *Kōkah*,¹ to Bhāwal *Anagab*, wife of Khwāja Gh̄zī,² to Jijī *Anagab*, to Kōkī *Anagab*, wife of Tōgh Bēgī, to Bibī Rūpā,³ to Khāldār *Anagab*, to Pija Jān *Anagab*, wife of Khwāja Maqsūd Herātī and to several other ladies of the palace. After everyone had been honoured thus with the mother's privileges, Jijī was appointed his permanent wet-nurse.

Abul Faẓl has taken great pains to describe the miraculous incidents connected with Akbar's birth. We have already referred to one of them, that the child was born under a combination of stars supposed to happen once in a thousand years. But the narration may here be extended. The writer goes on to say that the mother had the travail of child-birth of some hours and it appeared likely that the child would be born at an inauspicious moment. But the fear passed away and the lady fell asleep and Akbar was born at the desired auspicious moment.

We have referred to Humāyūn's dream,⁴ dreamt on *Rabī'ul-awwal* 4, 947 A.H. (July 10, 1540 A.D.) more than two years back. When he woke up, he was convinced that his wife's saintly ancestor had actually come to assure him in his dream of the future greatness of his son and that the saint had actually chosen the name of Jalāluddīn Muḥammad Akbar for his son. We pass over other similar incidents which all foreshadowed Akbar's greatness, e.g., while travelling in the Rājputāna desert Ḥamīda Bānū had a desire to possess a pomegranate and actually

¹ G. H. N. speaks of her as Nadīm *Kōkah*'s mother.

² Beveridge thinks it possible that Bhāwal *Anagab* bore also the title of Māham *Anagab*. See his note on p. 134 and agenda nos. 48 and 50.

³ Beveridge thinks her to be a Hindu girl.

⁴ See Ch. I.

got it. Shamsuddīn Muḥammad Atkah Khān's dream;¹ the light on Ḥamīda Bānū's brow; Jijī *Anagah* noticing a great light enter her bosom; the rays of divine light penetrating the room where Humāyūn was making astrological calculation about the expected birth; Humāyūn seeing a brilliant star filling the whole sky at the time of the actual birth of his son. It is probable that many of these incidents are after-thoughts or exaggerations. They were put down by Abul Faḥl, the chronicler, because he believed in them and also because he thought that his master would approve of their insertion in his writings.³

¹ *A. N.*, 14.

² These are all described in full in *A. N.*

³ For Akbar's miracles in his infancy see *A. N.* chapters XXVII and LII. How silly some of them are may be illustrated by the following: Shāham Khan Jalair relates, "when I went, I found him (Akbar) lying down. His lustrous countenance was serene and he looked as if he were asleep. In truth he was holding converse with the holy ones of heavenly court. His blessed hand moved occasionally.....From time to time there fell from his pearl-dropping tongue such expressions of 'God willing, I will bring the cream of earth's surface under my sway and fulfil the desires of the sorrowful of the seven climes.' " Akbar was then in his 10th year.

We choose to make the following general remarks on the rites and ceremonies as observed among the more orthodox classes of the Muslims in Mediaeval India.

(a) Many of the Muslim rites in India being borrowed from the surrounding Hindus, varied from province to province.

(b) There was a good deal of dependence on *istikhāra*, amulets, and other charms against the evil eye. To provide against barrenness, women visited the shrines of famous saints, e.g., of Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī, Niẓāmuddīn *Auliya*, Salīm Chishtī, and Shāh 'Alam of Ahmadābād. Sometimes Hindus also visited them. A gold or silver coin of Akbar was often used as an amulet. It is rather curious that while Akbar is denounced by the Muslims as a *kāfir*, his coins are extensively used for pious purposes. The use may be explained in two ways (a) they bear the names of the first four Khalifās clearly engraved and (b) they had a large percentage of the precious metal i.e., of gold or of silver. *Ain* 5, (see Blochmann 18) calls them superior to those of the preceding kings.

(c) Reading of the Qurān, recital of the Fātiḥah, of the *Aẓān*

or of the *Takbīr* were an essential part of some of the ceremonies. At the time of delivery, the woman's head was laid towards the north and her feet towards the south; for in case she was to die in childbirth, she would be in the position in which the Muslims are buried with face towards Macca.

(d) Superstition had a strong hold on the mediaeval Muslim woman and many of the superstitions were borrowed from others, e.g., she or her relations must not eat during the eclipse; on the Diwālī night she was to bathe with water collected from seven wells; dislike for a daughter was very marked for 'she was considered little more than a gift to a neighbour.' The Qurān also expresses the dislike of the pre-Muslim Arabs for a daughter. See Verse 16: 58. Muḥammad tried to remove the prejudice but the Indian surroundings again revived it. During the period of gestation up to the ninth month, no decoration of person or use of jewelry was permitted. Collyrium was freely applied to the eyes of the mother and of the babe as a remedy for the evil eye. Sometimes, just after the birth of the babe, a copper coin or a piece of copper was swallowed by the mother, for the act was supposed to help in the expulsion of the placenta. The knife used to cut the cord is kept by the mother's side for forty days.

(e) Once the state of pregnancy was announced, festivities were held at certain fixed intervals. Though the ceremonies varied in different parts of the country, those two which are common may be mentioned: one occurring in the seventh month called *satmāsa* and the other in the ninth month known as *naumāsa*.

After the birth of the babe, the important occasions are:—

(1) the third day known as *patti* when the hair of the mother is parted;

(2) the sixth day called *Cbhatī*;

(3) the fortieth day known as '*Aqīqa* day when the tonsure ceremony was held.

Other festivals were held when the child was four months and seven months old. On the latter occasion *firnī* or sweet porridge was given to the child, a practice probably borrowed from the *khīr-chatāi* ceremony of the Hindus.

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CHAPTER VIII

HUMĀYŪN BACK TO SIND AND HIS MARCH TO SĪBĪ AND MASHTANG

Humāyūn had left Amarkōt on October 11 and was encamped 15 *cōs* to the west when he got the news of the birth of Akbar. Since he had failed in his attempt to form an alliance with Rāo Māldēo he wished to return to Sind.¹ He had discovered while staying in Amarkōt that the Rānā, a petty chief as he was,² was bitterly opposed to Shāh Husain M. and ardently desired to avenge the death of his father.³ Humāyūn now hoped either that Shāh Husain 'would shake off his lethargy and make amends for the past' or that with the help of the Rānā he would be able to supplant the Arghūn ruler.⁴ Soon the combined army approached the boundary and found the enemy concentrated on the outskirts of the town of Jūn⁵ and ready for a contest. It was evident that Humāyūn

¹ I. N. is incorrect when it says that Humāyūn now for the second time turned to Māldēo.

² According to *Jauhar* he had 2000 soldiers of his own and 5000 belonging to a friendly neighbour.

³ See R. T., T. Kh. T. and Bad.

⁴ Humāyūn knew that singly neither himself nor the Rānā was equal to the Sind ruler but that the two combined might vanquish him.

⁵ Jūn, according to Haig, is at present in a ruinous condition. The ruins lie 2 miles south-east of the present town of Tando Ghulām Haidar. A. Fazl places it in Hājkān district. Jūn was its most productive *mahal*, fetching several times of the revenues of some of the other *mahals*. A. *mahal* was a Mughal subdivision of a *sarkar*. I. N. places it on the river Indus, and G. H. N. makes its distance from Tatta to be one of six days' journey.

was aiming straight at Tatta, the headquarters of the Sind ruler, and so was met by the latter on his frontier about 50 miles from the headquarters near the town of Jūn.¹ Humāyūn was suffering from shortage of food and so after a month's stay² when he was told of the proximity of Batora fort where food was to be found in abundance, he at once prepared to fight for it.³ He sent Shaikh 'Alī Bēg Jalair⁴ with his vanguard and himself followed with his main army. The battle fought by the Shaikh was a victory for the Mughals⁵ but they could make no headway against their enemy. So Humāyūn stayed at Jūn until the arrival of Hamīda Bānū with her child, December 28, 1542,⁶ and enjoyed the Jūn gardens, fruits, and streams.⁷ The Sindīs led by their general, Sulṭān

¹ *M. T.*, *T. Kb. T.*, *G. H. N.*, *Bad.*, and *Far.* wrongly state that from Amarkōt Humāyūn went towards Bhakkar. They have used Bhakkar as a synonym for Sind. *Jauhar* says that the Mughals captured Jūn from the Sindī officer, Jānī Bēg Qazzāq.

² *T. S. A.*

³ *T. S.* For Batora see *A. A.*, Vol. II., 339. It was a *pargana* in Tatta *sarkār* and may be identified with the modern Pataro, situated 10 miles north of Hyderabad in Sind. It is nearly 50 miles from Jūn.

⁴ *T. S. Ch.* mentions the name of Tājuddīn Lārī along with the Shaikh on the side of the Mughals and that of Sulṭān Bhakkarī on the side of the Sindīs.

⁵ *M. A.* But *G. H. N.* says the Shaikh was killed with all his men and his coadjutor, Muẓaffar Bēg Turkmān, was routed. The Shaikh's death is mentioned by *R. T.*, *T. Kb. T.*, and *Kb. T.* I have placed the event slightly later.

⁶ The date is given by *Jauhar* who says Akbar was now 35 days old.

⁷ *M. J. N.* praises Jūn town thus:

قصه مذکور در لطافت و کثرت اشجار و انهار و فواکه و انمار از دیگر قصبات
امتیاز داشت

M. A. uses indentical words; *G. H. N.* has

در آنجا آئیند باغ بسیار خوب بصف بود

Humāyūn saw his new-born babe at Jūn for the first time.

Maḥmūd Bhakkarī, made repeated attempts to dislodge the Mughals from their advantageous position, in one of which Shaikh ‘Alī Bēg was killed.¹ The Shaikh’s death was followed by the desertion of Mun‘im Bēg and of Khālīd Bēg, Nizāmuddīn Khalīfā’s son.² But the death of the one and the desertion of the two others were compensated for by Bairam Khān’s arrival, Muḥarram 7 (April 13, 1543) who immediately joined in a battle that was going on and afterwards met his master.

Bairam Khān had been separated from Humāyūn after the latter’s defeat at Qanauj. Bairam Khān’s adventures. The Mughal army was scattered and Bairam Khān fled and took shelter first with Miān Abdul Wahhāb of Sambhal and then with Rājā Mittar Sēn of Lakhnūr.³ But the Rājā could not withstand the persistent demand of Naṣir Khān, an important Afghān official of the locality, and so handed him over to the enemy. Naṣir Khān might have done away with the captive but for Maṣnad-i-‘Alī ‘Isā Khān who had been put in charge of the whole territory from Delhi to Lakhnūr⁴ by Shēr Shāh and as such was superior to

¹ T. S. and M. R. accuse Tardī Bēg for fighting half-heartedly and thus causing the Shaikh’s death. T. S. Ch. mentions the death of Tājuddīn Lārī also. Mrs. Beveridge does not appear to be correct when she puts down the date of the battle to be November, 1543. *Jauhar* gives many minor but interesting details.

² G. H. N. gives a list of the important nobles that now remained with Humāyūn. They were Tardī Bēg, Mirzā Yādgār, Mirzā Payanda Muḥammad, Muḥammad Walī, Nadīm Koka, Rustam Koka and Khandang chamberlain.

³ Abbas calls him Mīr Sayyid of Lakhnūr while A. N. and M. R. call him Rājā or Rāi Mittar Sēn. We have followed the latter. Lakhnūr was a mahal of Sambhal *sarkār*. See A. A. Vol. II, 290.

⁴ According to Abbas Sher Shah’s remarks on “‘Isā Khān’s appointment was از دهلی تا لکنؤ خاطر من جمع شد

Naṣir Khān. In his next visit to his master, 'Īsā Khān took Bairam Khān with him and introduced him to Shēr Shāh. The Afghān ruler, knowing fully Bairam Khān's worth treated him with marked respect¹ and with a view to binding him to himself dilated in his presence on the virtue of loyalty. Bairam expressed agreement with Shēr Shāh by repeating his words with great fervour.² Bairam Khān, whose conscience was awakened by Shēr Shāh's emphasis on the virtue of loyalty, thought of flight to his old master and at the first opportunity he escaped from Burhānpūr³ along with his friend, Abul Qāsim, the late Mughal governor of Gwālior. They were overtaken by some Afghāns who had Shēr Shāh's orders to kill Bairam Khān and let Abul Qāsim escape. The captors were not aware of the identity of Bairam Khān and as both the captives vehemently asserted that he was the person to die and as Abul Qāsim was a man remarkable for the beauty of his person, they took Abul Qāsim to Shēr Shāh and let Bairam Khān escape. Shēr Shāh, who had desired to be kind to Abul Qāsim, now resented his deception and put him to death.⁴ Bairam Khān

لهنو is for, لهنور, 'Īsā Khān was a *manṣabdār* of 5,000 and his relations had extensive *jāgīrs* in Kant-o-Gola, the present Shāhjahanpur district. 'Īsā Khān's nephew's daughter was Abbās Sarwānī's wife.

¹ M. R., *Vol. II*, 13 may be quoted,

در روز ملاقات نهایت تعظیم بجا آورده بتعظیم خانخانان از جای برخاست و
در نشستن بر همه امرا و اعیان خود تقدیم فرمود

² M. R.'s words are:—

شیر خان اظهار کرد که هر کس که اخلاص دارد خطا نمیکند خانخانان در
جواب گفت چنین است هر کس که اخلاص دارد خطا نخواهد کرد

Abbas makes no such statement. See *A. N.* also.

³ *I. N.* and *M. R.*

⁴ The whole incident is remarkable for several reasons:

reached Gujrāt¹ and from there managed to make his way to his old master.² On the day he reached the Mughal camp a battle was in progress with the Sindīs. He at once joined the others and by his prowess materially contributed to the victory of the Mughals; then crowned with glory he met his master.³

Humāyūn stayed long in Jūn, but his affairs did not prosper. The Rānā left him after a time as a protest against cow-slaughter in the Mughal camp and also because

(a) It indicates that probably there was one Rājā Mittar Sēn, a Hindu, occupying an important office under the Afghān ruler.

(b) It was the fascinating manners or the reputed learning of Bairam Khān which had won the goodwill of 'Īsā Khān Maṣnad-i-Ālī, one of the most trusted of Shēr Shāh's nobles. Between the Afghān warrior and the highly cultured Īrānī Turkmān there was hardly anything in common except the soldierly qualities. Shēr Shāh had, according to *Abbās*, rebuked 'Īsā Khān for showing favour to Bairam Khān and making a delay of nearly three years in reaching Shēr Shāh's court.

(c) Shēr Shāh appreciated Bairam Khān's qualities. He stood up to receive him, embraced him, and placed him above all his Afghān nobles.

(d) Bairam Khān remained loyal to his old master. Instead of acting as the deputy of the Afghān ruler, he chose to share the exile of his master. It is a striking example of a Shī'a Īrānī's loyalty for an exiled Sunnī Turānī king.

(e) Abul Qāsim, who had been allowed to escape unhurt, chose to sacrifice his life for his friend, Bairam Khān.

(f) During his flight, Bairam Khān had rejected high honours at the hand of the Gujrāt ruler, Maḥmūd Shāh. When permitted to depart for Macca, he changed his mind, reached Surat, and from there reached Humāyūn's camp on April 13, 1543.

¹ From Gujrāt Bairam Khān had corresponded with Humāyūn in which he reiterated his loyalty and regretted his separation from Humāyūn. In reply Humāyūn praised Bairam Khān's virtues. One is curious to know the lines of verses that passed between them.

² I. N. and M. R. R. T. makes Bairam Khān join Humāyūn in Rājputāna. It calls Bairam محمد بایرام خان

³ According to G. H. N. during Bairam Khān's flight Shāh Husain had made efforts to capture him and had almost succeeded; only Bairam Khān's luck and prowess had saved him.

Tardī Bēg and Khwāja Ghāzī quarrelled with him.¹ And with the Rānā's departure also departed most of the local *zamīndārs*. If the Mughal historians are to be believed the skirmishes still continued to be decided in Humāyūn's favour but they did not help him in any way. Desertion from the Mughal camp continued² and Humāyūn was in a state of distraction, when he received the terms of peace from the Sind ruler³ through Bābur Qulī in which the latter offered every facility for transport and provisions on condition that the Mughals would depart immediately for Qandahār. Humāyūn accepted the terms and agreed to depart from Sind. In order to help the Mughals in their evacuation Shāh Husain supplied them with a lac of silver, 300 horses, 300 camels and 30 boats, for the conveyance of the Mughal troops out of his territory. He also promised to make a bridge opposite Jūn to enable the Mughals easily to cross the river Indus.⁴ While thus helping the Mughals, Shāh Husain took care to inform Kāmran in Kabūl and 'Askarī, Kāmran's governor in Qandahār, of Humāyūn's departure for Qandahār.

¹ *G. H. N.* and *Jauhar*. Up to this time the Rānā had been faithful to Humāyūn in spite of Shāh Husain's efforts to seduce him.

² *G. H. N.* on fol. 49*b* and 50*a* gives some instances of desertion. In one case Humāyūn punished the deserter's mother and half-sister, the latter being one of his own queens. Even Mun'im Khān had left him.

³ *A. N.*, 189 *G. H. N.*, fol. 52*b*. *R. T.* and *T. A.* say that Humāyūn made the proposals. *M. R.*, 562, reconciles the two statements by saying that Humāyūn was intending to approach the Sind ruler when Shāh Husain coming to know of it became impatient of any further delay and himself made the proposal.

⁴ *T. Kh. T.*, *T. S. A.* and *R. T.* make a mention of 3 boats only. *T. S.* says the coins were نقد مثقالی and finds the date of the treaty in the phrase صراط مستقیم 'straight road'. The phrase is generally applied to Muslim religion. *G. H. N.* puts the number of camels to be 1,000.

With a heavy heart Humāyūn turned his back on India on 7th *Rabī'ul-ākhir*, 950 (July 10, 1543), hoping that now after the lapse of three years, his brother, Kāmṛān, would be in a conciliatory mood and allow him his dues, viz., the headship of the Mughals. He was positive that he had no strength to fight with his brother; for his own followers had been reduced to less than a thousand and of the eminent nobles only Tardī Bēg and Bairam Khān now accompanied him. Humayūn had argued that if disappointment continued to dog him and Kāmṛān refused even the cession of Qandahār to him, he would have no other plan left but to leave the infant Akbar with his uncles and himself retire to Macca and Madina and there to lead the life of a recluse.¹

Qandahār,² the goal of Humāyūn's march, had recently changed hands. When Kāmṛān had left Humāyūn in 1541, he had gone to his two provinces, Kabul and Qandahār. He stayed in his headquarters and placed Qarācha Khān as his deputy in Qandahār.³ The latter was a friend of Hindāl and so at his invitation, the Mirzā went to Qandahār and Qarācha Khān handed over the fort and the town to him arguing that in his presence it was not proper for him to continue to act as governor. As Hindāl had given expression to very strong feelings against Kāmṛān in the conference of the Mirzās at Lahore, the latter had taken a strong dislike

¹ See *M. J. N.* I believe Hamīda Bānū was to leave her child behind and to accompany her husband.

² A long description of the city and the fort has been given by Beni Prasad in his book on Jahāngīr, 156-57 and by Qanungo in his book on Dara Shikoh, Ch. IV. See also Malleson: *History of Afghānistān*, 24-26; and Macmunn; *Afghānistān*, 5. There are other details in *A. A.* and the Imperial Gazetteer.

³ *C. H. I. IV*, 40 says that he had assumed the royal title.

for him and¹ so on hearing of Hindāl's possession of Qandahār, he went himself with a strong force, and entered it after six months' seige. Hindāl was carried away a captive and the fort and the town were given to 'Askarī, who had been so long governor of Ghaznī. For a time Kāmrān treated Hindāl with severity, then he relented, set him free, and gave him Jūi-Shāhī² as *jāgīr*.

Yādgār Nāṣir M., we have seen earlier, had separated from Humāyūn and had chosen to stay at Rohrī when the latter had proceeded to Māldēo. The Mirzā lingered at Rohrī for two months hoping all the while that Shāh Ḥusain would keep his promises of making him his son-in-law and nominating him his successor. To his chagrin he discovered that all his talk was insincere and intended only to deceive him. So after a wearisome stay for two months he found himself stranded.³ Since he had not the face to go back to Humāyūn, he now turned to Kāmrān and reached Qandahār when Hindāl was about to surrender it. After its surrender, Kāmrān returned to Kabul with Hindāl and Yādgār Nāṣir in his train.

Having settled the affairs of Qandahār to his satisfaction, Kāmrān now turned to the ruler of Sind. Instead of trying to intimidate him by an exhibition of force he sent him a proposal of marriage through 'Abdul Wahhāb,

¹ There is an interesting description of the quarrel between Kāmrān and Hindāl in *G. II. N.* The author brings in Khānzāda Bēgam in this connection. No other writer supports Gulbadan Bēgam in her statement that Humāyūn sent Khānzāda Bēgam to settle the quarrel between Kāmrān and Hindāl.

² The modern Jalālābad, so named after Jalāluddīn Muḥammad Akbar. *Bad.* assigns Ghaznī and *G. H. N.* Lamghānāt to Hindāl.

³ According to *Jauhar*, Shāh Ḥusain drove the Mirzā away after mulcting a fine of one *shābrukhī* from every follower of the Mirzā, seven *shābrukhīs* for every camel-load and five *shābrukhīs* for every horse-load in the Mirzā's camp.

one of the children of Shaikh Mīrak Purānī, the Shaikh-ul-Islam of Tatta and Shāh Ḥusain's spiritual guide.¹ It had occurred to Shāh Ḥusain that though he had so far successfully resisted Humāyūn and Yādgār Nāṣir M. he might have to yield to a more powerful combination of the Mughals. The only way to escape such a contingency was, if possible, to divide the enemy. So when Kāmrān, the ruler of the warlike Afghāns and recent conqueror of Qandahār, approached him with a proposal of marriage with his daughter, the Sind ruler agreed. In order to show his sincerity, he sent back to Qandahār Shahr-Bānū Bēgam, half-sister of Bābur² and her son, Mirzā Sanjar.

During his march to Qandahār Humāyūn actually fell in with 'Abdul Wahhāb,³ Kāmrān's envoy to Shāh Ḥusain, and desired him through a friend of his to surrender Sībī,⁴ then in 'Abdul Wahhāb's possession, to the Mughal chief, but nothing came of the negotiations. Thus unable to secure Sībī, Humāyūn passed through Bolan pass⁵ to Shāl,⁶ situated on the road to Qandahār. But

¹ *T. Kb. Ch.* A. N. describes Humāyūn's meeting with 'Abdul Wahhāb at Sībī.

² Married to Sultān Junaid Barlās and lately left behind in Sind by Humāyūn. She did not reach her destination but died on the way at Shāl.

³ *G. H. N.* mentions the names of Mīr Allāh Dōst and Bābā Jūjūk instead of 'Abdul Wahhāb. *M. R.* to some extent agrees with *G. H. N.* and calls the Mīr one of the learned of the age.

⁴ Sībī is a railway station 92 miles south-east of Quetta. For its importance see Macmunn's *Afghānistān*, 4.

⁵ The description of Bolan pass may be read in Malleon's *History of Afghānistān*, 38.

⁶ Or Quetta as it is known in the modern times. It is 130 miles south-east of Qandahār. *M. J. N.*, *T. Kb. Ch.*, and *I. N.* state that it was situated at a distance of 3 *farsakh* from Qandahār. ۳ probably is a slip for سی '30'. *T. Kb. Ch.* wrongly states that on the 7th *Rabī'ul-awwal* Humāyūn was at Shāl. As usual *Jauhar* supplies many minor details, describing the hardships of the journey.

here too he was informed of the hostility of the local *zamīndār*, Jalāluddīn Bēg¹ and was, in addition, told of 'Askarī's threatening attitude towards him.² So Humāyūn gave up the idea of proceeding towards Qandahār; instead, he turned southwards for Mashtang.³ From there he wrote a loving letter to 'Askarī full of warning and instructions strong in expressions such as might appeal to a disloyal brother⁴ and sent it by Payanda Muḥammad Waisī. Both Qasim Ḥusain Sulṭān and Maḥdī Qāsim Khān, who had deserted from Humāyūn's camp and were present now with 'Askarī, spoke in Humāyūn's favour but 'Askarī acting on the advice of Abul Khair paid no heed to the letter nor to the remonstrances and continued to be hostile to his brother.⁵ Bent on Humāyūn's ruin,⁶ 'Askarī wished to advance on Mashtang. Though the place was situated on the main route that led from Quetta to Qilāt, 'Askarī, not having travelled before, took an Uzbek, Jai Bahādur⁷ by name, as his guide, and got a fresh horse for himself from Tarsūn Barlās. Jai Bahādur had at one time been one of

¹ I. N.

² 'Askarī was hostile because Kāmran instructed him to capture Humāyūn. See R. T.

³ Mastung of the modern maps of the Indian Survey department. T. A. incorrectly puts down سال و مستان and Bad. شال مشانگ

⁴ Humāyūn had addressed his brother as برادر کم مهر بے ارادت See T. Kb. T.

⁵ T. Kb. Ch.

⁶ According to N. M. and M. J. N. 'Askarī kept up the pretence of writing loyal letters to Humāyūn while actually he wanted to capture him. S. S. bluntly puts it in one short sentence,

عسکری خواست کہ او را بدست آرد

See also Kb. T.

⁷ N. M. calls him Jabāi Bahādur and R. T., T. Kb. T., and T. S. A. جولای ایک. He was in Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān's train and was later on sent with a letter to Shāh Ṭahmāsp.

Humāyūn's followers, and so wishing to do a good turn to his old master, got upon his horse and spurring him on, left his companions far behind, reached Bairam Khān's tent at dead of night and informed him of 'Askarī's evil intentions towards Humāyūn. Bairam Khān, in his turn, spoke to his master who at first belittled his danger, repeated the couplet

چرخست نشیمن تو شرمست بادا کاهی و نزاع بر سر خاک کنی

"Thy seat is in the sky. It is a shame
That thou art like a straw striving on dust"

and even now refused to fight with his brothers for the possession of Kabul and Qandahār. But on second thought, Humāyūn saw the danger he was in and realized that if he was to escape unhurt, no time was to be lost. He was short of good horses and when he asked for one of Tardī Bēg's, the latter refused.¹ He had other problems also e.g., what he was to do with his infant son and in which direction he was to proceed. His decision had to be quick; for 'Askarī had nearly arrived and he and his followers² must move at once if they were not to fall into the hands of the Mirzā. Humāyūn decided to go westward to Macca via Īrān accompanied by his queen Ḥamīda Bānū but to leave the infant behind as the latter could not be expected to stand the rigour of the journey or the blaze of the sun.³ It was not expected that 'Askarī's ani-

¹ That he had a spare horse is clear from the following sentence of R. T.

دید که جاودار تردی بیگ خان جلو اسپ سواری او را
(Ḥamīda Bānū) گرفته ایستاده

² According to N. M. Humāyūn had only 10 or 15 followers and according to R. T. and S. S., slightly more.

³ T. Kb. T. and T. S. A. Ḥamīda Bānū actually had very little to

mosity against Humāyūn would also affect Humāyūn's one year old son.

When 'Askarī arrived immediately after, he was grieved to know of Humāyūn's escape and was hardly consoled by Mīr Shamsuddīn Atkah Khān's information that Akbar still stayed in the camp. The Mīrzā sent to the prince a camel-load of fruits from his own pantry and then engrossed himself for the greater part of the night in drawing up an inventory of the booty obtained from the abandoned camp.

Panic-stricken, Humāyūn and his followers were on their march. The one man who kept his head cool was Bairam Khān. He could picture to himself the stingy 'Askarī deeply absorbed with a few of his clerks in drawing up a list of the articles obtained from the deserted camp and suggested to his master that though they were only a handful in number, they might fall on 'Askarī in the darkness of night and do away with him. There was not much risk either in the execution of the enterprise; for most of the Mīrzā's men had once been in Humāyūn's service and might be expected to rally round their old master. But Humāyūn once more dwelt on his love for his brothers, declined to act on Bairam Khān's suggestion and gave as his reason that he was on his pilgrimage and could not now turn aside from his destination for any material gain. There may be some elements of grandeur in Humāyūn's refusal even in his forlorn state to deprive

do with her son, Jijī *Anaga* and Māham *Anaga*, the wet-nurses, behaving in every way as mother to the child.

R. T. and T. Kb. T. mention the names of Khwāja Mu'azzam and Bairam Khān as those who brought Hamīda Bānū to her husband. M. J. N., T. Kb. Ch., and I. N. add also those of Mīr Shamsuddīn Muḥammad Ghaznavī, of Nadīm Kokultāsh, and of Khwāja 'Ambar Nāẓir.

his brothers of their territories. But at least one of his followers could not appreciate his master's motive for the refusal. Tardī Bēg, who had long meditated on desertion but had been prevented by his chief's vigilance, was now able to escape unnoticed to 'Askarī. But to the Bēg's ill-luck, the Mīrzā did not welcome his arrival, made him over to his confidant, Shāh Walad, for safe custody, and confiscated all his goods, which the Bēg had so long carefully guarded, refusing their surrender even to Humāyūn.

Let us turn to the child Akbar. He had been entrusted to Shamsuddīn Atkah Khān and to his two wet-nurses, Jījī *Anaga*, Shamsuddīn's wife, and Māham *Anaga*. The child was brought to 'Askarī, who behaved kindly to him, gave him his ring and felt disappointment at Akbar's coldness towards him.¹ After a short while the Mīrzā returned with Akbar to Qandahār, 18th *Ramzūn*, 950 (15th December, 1543), allotted for the baby-prince a residence close to his own palace and made him over to his wife, Sultān Bēgam. The two nurses and Atkah Khān were to help the Bēgam in rearing the child. He was well looked after; and when Kōkī Bahādur, one of 'Askarī's confidants, touched by the child's intelligence offered to take him secretly to Humāyūn, Atkah Khān declined the offer on the plea that if this had been Humāyūn's desire he would not have parted with the prince at all. Even Abul Fazl agrees that Sultān Bēgam lovingly and devotedly attended to the child and as she had no children of her

¹ *M. J. N.* puts it thus:

مرزا هر چند توجه بجانب آن حضوت کرده در مقام شگفتگی آمد آنحضرت
 باوجود صغر سن اصلاً شگفته نشد

According to it, Akbar was attracted to the ring by the bright vermilion colour of its covering, غلاف

own, treated him as her own. 'Askarī himself did not take much notice of him, but once only when Akbar had just learnt to waddle he carried out, at the request of the child's nurses, the practice of striking him with his turban as a charm against the evil eye. On another occasion the Mirzā permitted the child to be taken to the shrine of Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl and to have his head shaved.¹

The chronology of the period is:—

1. Humāyūn left Amarkōt *Rajab* 1, 949 A.H. October 11, 1542 A.D.
2. Humāyūn encamped at a distance of 15 *cōs* from Amarkōt *Rajab* 4, 949 A.H., October 14, 1542 A.D.
3. Akbar was born *Rajab* 5, 949 A.H., October 15, 1542 A.D.
4. Humāyūn arrived at the Sind frontier *Rajab* 10, 949 A.H., October 20, 1542 A.D.
5. Humāyūn's stay at Jūn *Rajab*, 949—*Rabī'* II, 950, October 20, 1542 A.D. to July 10, 1543.
6. Ḥamīda Bānū started from Amarkōt *Shabān* 25, 950, December 3, 1542.
7. Ḥamīda Bānū's arrival at Jūn *Ramṣān* 20, 950, December 28, 1542.
8. Bairam Khān's arrival at Jūn *Muharram* 7, 950, April 13, 1543.
9. Humāyūn started for Qandahār *Rabī'* II, 7, 950, July 10, 1543.
10. Humāyūn's flight from Mashtang *Rajab* 16, 950, October 15, 1543.

¹ First published in *the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, December, 1939.

CHAPTER IX

HUMĀYŪN IN PERSIA, 1544 A.D.

After his signal defeats at the hands of Shēr Shāh in the battles of Chausa, 1539 and of Qanauj, 1540, Humāyūn roamed through the Punjab, Sind and Rājputāna during the next three years in India, hoping for succour from some quarter and when he found none, he at last withdrew to Afghānistān. He stayed for a time at Mashtang¹ and then, finding no adequate shelter here, decided to retreat further westward. His route lay through the dreary and arid land known as the Rēgistān or desert. The dread of the inhospitable region² did not turn his followers from him and the fugitive chief in gratitude entitled every one of the party *Chālī* or friend of the desert.³ Though his cup of misery seemed full, Fate dealt a little mercifully with him; for Malik Hāthī Balūch,⁴ the captain of the banditti, instead of doing any injury,⁵ took pity on him, brought

¹ Mastung Road is a railway station on Quetta-Duzdap line.

² *M. R.*, 574 has آنحضرت قدم در وادی توکل نهاده، راه چول پیش گرفتند. For a graphic picture of it, see *G. H. N.*, 55*b* and 56*a*. Humāyūn relates that once his very head was frozen by the intense cold.

³ Even Humāyūn's wife, Hamīda Bānū, was henceforth known as Chūlī Bēgam.

⁴ *A. N.*, and *M. R.* Jauhar calls him Malik Khatī Balūch. The Balūch wife of 'Alī Īshak was the interpreter of the conversation between Humāyūn and the Balūches.

⁵ Hāthī Balūch, a small chief in the neighbourhood, had Kāmran's and 'Askari's order to capture Humāyūn; but now after his meeting with the Mughal chief, he was determined to sacrifice his own life or the lives of his family for him. Humāyūn on parting gave him some presents including a ruby and a pearl.

him to his residence and looked after his comfort. When Humāyūn resumed his journey, the Baluch chief guided him through the dreaded tract and brought him to the more hospitable district of Garmsīr.¹ The *kalāntar* or chief official of the region, Mīr 'Abdul Haiy,² was appointed by 'Askarī; so knowing his master's hostility to Humāyūn he could not come forward himself otherwise he was hospitable to Humāyūn in every way.³ The fugitive chief also benefited from another quarter. Khwāja Jalāluddīn Maḥmūd,⁴ one of 'Askarī's revenue collectors, in the course of his duties had arrived at the fort of Bābā Hājī. When Humāyūn sent for him, he willingly came, transferred his services, and surrendered all his possessions to his new master.⁵ Humāyūn, sorely pressed for cash, was relieved by this windfall, distributed the presents among his followers and made the Khwāja steward of the privy purse.⁶ Hājī Muḥammad Kōkī, 'Askarī's foster-brother, also deserted his master for Humāyūn.⁷

Though partially relieved of his immediate needs,

¹ More than one writer e.g., the authors of *A. N.*, *T. A.* and *T. Kb. T.*, mention that Humāyūn now reached a fortified place called Qal'a-i-Bābā Hājī. According to *G. H. N.* Humāyūn was received by the Sayyids of the place.

² *Jauhar* calls him Sayyid 'Abdul Haqq.

³ According to *Jauhar*, his slave and not he did the hospitality and was blinded by his master as punishment.

⁴ See *A. A.*, Vol. I, p. 384 for his biography. He was one of the early finance ministers of Akbar and had risen to the rank of 2,500. Later on he was murdered by the orders of Mun'im Khān and Bairam Khān.

⁵ *G. H. N.* gives the details of his possessions, a string of mules, another of horses, tents, etc. and some cash. See also *T. A.* and *T. Kb. T.*

⁶ *T. A.* and *T. Kb. T.*

⁷ *A. N.*, 212. *Jauhar* says he was made superintendent of the palaces. If so, *بيوتات* 'palaces,' must mean here the travelling tents that Humāyūn had with him.

Humāyūn's prospects were gloomy indeed. He did not know where to go or what to do. He felt dejected and at one moment thought that 'he should seek some lonely corner and withdrawing himself outwardly, and inwardly from other matters, should give himself up to God alone.' But he was dissuaded by the presence of his followers who, out of a sense of sheer loyalty to their fallen chief, had sacrificed their all and chosen to share his misfortunes.

Thus prevented from immediate retirement into seclusion, he had for the present only one other course to adopt. It was to write to the Shāh of Īrān, Ṭahmāsp Al-Ḥusainī¹ and to request him for shelter in his dominions.² Humāyūn hoped that his appeal would be listened to; should it turn out otherwise, he determined to retire into a hermitage. So the letter, written in verse, was full of humility and for this reason probably has not been reproduced in full by any writer. Only *Jauhar* renders its brief summary which may be given here:

'This is a memorial of Muḥammad Humāyūn who, after an offer of sincere prayers for your Majesty's welfare as is due from a person of distinction and sincere well-wisher, begs to observe that he feels overwhelmed with a feeling of shame though he is full of honest intentions. Humāyūn looks only a particle of dust in the presence of your Majesty's refulgent glory and magnificence, and hopes much from your ocean-like virtues. It is true in the past he had not counted himself among the slaves of the high office (i.e., of the Shāh of Īrān) yet he has always borne the collar of friendship and of attachment and clung to you like lead. He has always tried to earn your goodwill with

¹ The title Al-Ḥusainī is given by *Far.*, 220.

² The suggestion of an appeal to the Shāh came from Bairam Khān. See *M. R.*, 575.

elegant presents.

‘At length, the wheel of the times and of the colourless sky has drawn the petitioner away from the spacious Hindustān to the narrow and gloomy Sind:

“What has passed over our head, has passed.
Whether by hill or by river or by wilderness.”¹

‘Now the bird of his ambition spreads its wings to have a sight of your sun of dignity and magnificence and he hopes that God in His mercy will allow him to meet his friend, munificent like a river, and in the meeting he hopes to relate to you what he has to relate.

Verses

- “(1) O king! O my high-gifted monarch! my soul has fixed its abode in thy armour strong as the fabulous mount of Qāf.
(2) The ignoble and deceitful² fortune has forced me³ to be content with millet.
(3) My foe is now bold. For a long while he had his back turned on me. Now he has turned his face to me in hostility.
(4) At this moment I have one request to make of the Shāh and it is that he might do to me what ‘Alī had done to Salmān in the forest of Arzhan.”⁴

¹ The couplet in Persian is

بسر ما بگزشت آنچه گزشت - چه بکوه چه بدریا چه بدشت

² Lit., one who displays wheat but sells barley.

³ Lit., I who like a parrot would ordinarily subsist on sweets and fruits.

⁴ ‘Alī had saved Salmān’s life from the attack of a lion. For Salmān’s influence on the evolution of sects of Islam, see Lammen’s *Islam*, 171-72. *Bad.* has a slightly different wording of the verses and adds the following line taken from a quatrain written by Humāyūn:

شاهها همه سایه هما میخوانند - بنگر که هما آمده در سایه تو

Having written his appeal, Humāyūn sent it by Jai Bahādur¹ on *Shawwāl* 1, 950 (December 28, 1543). He had intended to continue to stay in Garmsīr until he received a reply from the Shāh. But 'Askarī's movements did not allow him any rest. Mīr 'Abdul Haiy, who had already shown consideration to him² and had relieved his distress, now represented that 'Askarī had been reported to be approaching with a large army³ and added that if the report was correct, Humāyūn might be captured. So, on his advice, the fugitive chief moved into the province of Sīstān,⁴ belonging to the Shāh of Īrān and so was protected from 'Askarī's raids. After crossing the river Halmand, he halted by the lake of the same name.⁵

Aḥmad Sultān Shāmlū, the Persian governor of Sīstān, was probably aware of the Mughal chief's appeal to the Shāh and, so expecting a favourable reply, tendered hospitality, on behalf of his master. Humāyūn was placed in a spacious residence, was offered the revenue of the province for his expenses and was entertained with the principal amusement of the locality viz., the sport of catching waterfowl. Aḥmad sent even his mother and wife to wait

¹ R. T. calls him Chūlī Bahādur, N. M. Jabai Bahādur, and M. R. Kōkī Bahādur.

² See supra. On Humāyūn's return from Persia, he was one of the first to do homage to him with a quiver bound round his neck. See A. N.

³ According to R. A. T. many of Humāyūn's friends, مخلصان بادشاه gave him information about 'Askarī.

⁴ He had with him only a handful of followers. A. N.'s list is fuller than most of the others and it counts 38 persons in all. *Jauhar* makes it 40 men and 2 women. Of the 2 women one was Ḥamīda Bānū and the other, wife of 'Alī Īshak Aqā, a Balūch woman who proved a useful interpreter during the journey. G. H. N. calls the latter, wife of Ḥasan 'Alī.

⁵ According to G. H. N., as soon as Humāyūn had reached the Halmand, all classes of the Shāh's subjects received him.

on Ḥamīda Bānū;¹ and his brother, Ḥusain Qulī Mirzā,² greatly pleased the Mughal chief by a present of some books and also by making a commonsense answer to his questions. Humāyūn once asked him about the representative merits of Sunnīsm and Shī'ism. Ḥusain's observations on the subject were that whereas the Shī'as actually reviled the companions of Muḥammad and considered it to be a pious and meritorious act, the Sunnīs considered any such act to be that of a *kāfir*. Ḥusain argued that one decision was against the other but since the Shī'as only promised reward for the curses as against the Sunnī threats of heinous punishment for behaving as a *kāfir*, it was well to forgo the reward, but under no circumstances to risk the suspicion of being a *kāfir*.³

Having once entered the Shāh's territory of his own accord, it would have been unwise for Humāyūn to retrace his steps to Zamīndāwar, belonging to 'Askarī.⁴ But such were the proposals of two of the newcomers, Bābā Qashqa's sons, Ḥajī Muḥammad and Ḥasan Kōkā. They represented that Amīr Bēg, the governor of Zamīndāwar, and Chalma Bēg, the commandant of Bist, both would transfer their services to Humāyūn, if only he made a move

¹ He gave many presents according to *Jauhar*, the most priceless being a mare bearing the name Lailat-ul-Qadr.

² A. N., and M. R. T. A. expresses Aḥmad Sulṭān Shāmlū's services in these words:

احمد سلطان شاملو زیاده بر وسع و امکان بلوازم مهمانداری قیام نموده عورات
خود را برسم کنیزان بخدمتگاری حضرت مریم مکانی فرستاده و جمیع اسباب و جهات
خود را پیشکش کرده خود در سلک غلامان درگاه درآمد

³ The punishment after death for *kufir* is to be placed eternally in fire. See the *Qurān*, 64: 10, 66: 9, 4: 56. For details, see B. B. T. H. B.

⁴ According to *Jauhar*, Aḥmad Sulṭān Shāmlū desired Humāyūn to stay in Sīstān, as he expected many deserters from 'Askarī's camp.

in their direction and that their examples would be taken up so generally that the fall of Qandahār would be a foregone conclusion. It is a credit to Humāyūn's intelligence that he rejected their advice and denied audience to them as a mark of his displeasure and continued firm in his proposed journey to Īrān and Irāq. The ever loyal Bairam Khān encouraged Humāyūn in his resolution.

Humāyūn's shortest route to the Shāh's capital lay through the desert lands of Dasht-i-Lūt and Dasht-i-Kabīr. But as he had already experienced the privations of the waterless tracts in his journey through Rājputāna, he did not want another experience of similar nature. So he proposed to travel northward to Khurāsān wherein lay the far-famed cities of Herāt or Herī, Mashad, Jām, Nishāpūr, etc. The journey would enable him to visit the city of Herāt that had flourished under his kinsman, Sulṭān Ḥusain Baiqarā, and also to pay his respects at Mashad to the tomb of 'Alī Raza, the 8th Shī'a Imām, and at Jām to that of Shaikh Aḥmad and thus show to the world his own liberal views in the matter of faith. Humāyūn was certain that the Shāh who was proud of the three cities would be glad when he would learn the cause of Humāyūn's delay in reaching his capital.

When Humāyūn reached Farah¹ on 12th *Zulqa'd* 950 (6th February, 1544),² he received the Shāh's reply to his appeal. When Humāyūn's petition reached him he was grateful to God for sending to him as a suppliant a

¹ Here lies buried Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr, the founder of Maḥdīsm in India. He died in 1505. For an interesting description of his Maḥdīsm and of the sufferings of one of his disciples, Shaikh 'Alāī, see *Bad.*, 394-405.

² R. T. gives the date of receipt of Humāyūn's letter by the Shāh to be 12th *Zūlḥijj* 952 (February 14, 1546) which is evidently wrong.

king 'from the spacious domain of India.' The Shāh's reply has been given in full by more than one writer.¹ Though pompously worded, in accordance with the epistolary usage of the time, the generous intentions of the Shāh run unmistakably through its pages. We may be excused from quoting the lengthy and wearisome details and shall content ourselves with pointing out a few of its essential features:

(a) A couplet from Hāfiz's odes was quoted as a superscription. The couplet runs as:

همای اوج سعادت بدام ما افتد - اگر ترا گذری بر مقام ما افتد

"A Huma of auspicious soaring falls into our net,
If for thee there chance a passage to our abode."²

(b) Humāyūn is addressed in the Shāh's letter as *Bādshāh Numāb-i-Kāmyab, Ān Hazrat, Jahānbānī Jannat-Āshīānī*.³ The Shāh refers to himself as Nuwāb.⁴

¹ A. N., B. B. T. H. B., M. R., T. S. A., and M. A.

² Any other line of this ode might have been quoted:

حباب وار براندازم از نشاط کلاه	اگر ز روی تو عکسی بجام ما افتد
بیارگاه تو چون باد را نباشد راه	کی اتفاق مجال سلام ما افتد
چو جان فدای لبست شد خیال می بستم	که قطره ز زلالیت بجام ما افتد
خیال زلف تو گفتا که جان و سیاه مساز	کزین شکار فراوان بدام ما افتد
ملوک را چو ده خاکبوس این دنیاست	کی التفات جواب سلام ما افتد
بنامیدی ازین در مرو بزن فاله	بود که قرعه دولت بجام ما افتد
شبی که ماه مراد از افق طلوع کند	بود که پرتو نوری بجام ما افتد
ز خاک کوی تو هر گه که دم زند حافظ	نسیم گلشن جان در مشام ما افتد

³ *Jahānbānī Jannat-āshīānī* was especially used for Humāyūn after his death.

⁴ The title of Nuwāb, 'deputy,' was adopted by the Shī'a Shāhs; because, according to the Shī'as the true ruler was the immortal Al-Mahdī. See Lammen's *Islam*, 145-51.

(c) The Mughal ex-king was treated as a distinguished guest and the district of Sabzawār was specially assigned to the governor of Khurāsān, Prince Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā or his deputy, Muḥammad Khān Sharafuddīn Oghlī Taklu,¹ for meeting the expenses of entertaining the guest and his followers. Offerings were made on a profuse scale, e.g., on the first occasion when Muḥammad Khān met the Mughal chief, the following gifts were made on behalf of the Shāh:—

(1) 6 horses with azure and embroidered saddles and with housings of gold brocade;

(2) A special side-dagger which once had belonged to Shāh Isma‘īl, also a golden scimeter and a jewelled girdle;

(3) 400 pieces of velvet and satin of Europe and Yazd which were to be converted into 120 coats for Humāyūn and others for his followers;

(4) two piles of gold-brocaded velvet carpets;

(5) coverlets of goats' hair with satin linings;

(6) 3 pairs of large carpets 12 cubits square;

(7) 4 *goshkam* carpets of fine silk;

(8) 12 tents, crimson, green and white.

Other gifts were made by the prince-governor and his officials; sometimes the Shāh made a gift of the whole camp as it stood with all its paraphernalia.² On some occasions birds like falcon and hawk were presented. The Mughal chief's followers were not excluded from this munificence, e.g., at Herāt the prince Sultān Moḥammad gave silk *khilats*, clothes, a horse suitable to the rank of the

¹ The prince, the eldest son of the Shāh, was a minor and the deputy was his tutor, *واله* or guardian, *اتالیق*. See *T. A.*, 58, *T. S. A.*, and *T. Kh. T.*

² This might be a mere complimentary statement, for among the presents is also mentioned 'the army.'

person and 3 *tumāns*¹ to every Mughal follower.

(d) Elaborate arrangements were made by the Shāh for Humāyūn's reception and as a model instruction, he gave the minutest details of what the governor of *Khurāsān* was expected to do:

(1) Minute details were furnished regarding Humāyūn's food, e.g., it was mentioned that the guests should be given sweet and pleasant drinks and white loaves, kneaded with milk and butter and seasoned with fennel and poppy seeds. At every halt the Mughal chief was to be supplied with rose-water *sharbat* and lemon-juice cooled with snow and ice and, after the *sharbat*, were to be offered apples, water-melons, grapes with white loaves. At dinner there were to be at least 500 dishes of food. On special state occasions, the number of dishes was to be increased to 1,500, but if an official was to provide for the expenses the number of dishes might be reduced to 1,200. The governor of Herāt's entertainment was to be on an extravagant scale, e.g., the number of dishes was to be 3,000. After dinner were to be provided sweetmeats, comfits, various preserves and 'Chinese threads' perfumed with rose-water, musk, and grey ambergis. The high officials were to entertain the state guests by turn.

(2) The minutest details about Humāyūn's reception by the people of Persia were settled by the Shāh. For example, when Humāyūn approached the provincial headquarters e.g., Herāt, first of all, 500 'prudent and experienced men' were to go forth several miles ahead to welcome the king. After 3 days, Muḥammad *Khān*, the deputy governor, was to go forward with his children and accompanied by 1,000 followers. All the officers on approaching the

¹ *Tumān* is the standard gold coin of *Īrān* equal to 10 francs of France.

Mughal chief were 'to kiss the ground' and were to render service as they would do to their own master. When the Mughals would come still nearer, i.e., at 12 *farsang*¹ from Herāt, the other citizens numbering 30,000 were to go forth to welcome them.² On the day of Humāyūn's arrival at Herāt, the prince-governor was to ride forth with a large retinue. He was to dismount at the sight of the guest, to go near and kiss his thigh and stirrup, and 'to show all the points of service and respect and honour.' The prince was to ride close to the Mughal chief³ and the deputy was to be near the prince so that any question put by the chief, if not answered by the prince, might be attended to by his deputy. On the fourth day of his residence in Herāt, the guest was to be given a still more signal public welcome, i.e., 'all the men and women of the city shall assemble.....in the avenue, and that in every shop and bazaar, where carpets and cloths shall be spread in order, the women and maidens will be seated.....And from every ward and lane let the masters of melody come forthAnd bid all the people come forth' to offer welcome. The instructions were actually carried out; for we are told that when Humāyūn rode from the Ziāratgāh to Pul-i-Mālān and thence to Jahānārā garden, a distance of 3 or 4 leagues, the whole plain and the heights in the neighbourhood were filled with spectators from the city and the villages.

The instructions further added that during the guest's

¹ It is an indefinite measure of distance of about 12,000 cubits or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Twelve *farsang* would be more than 40 miles. *Farsang* is the Persian form of the Arabic word, *farsakh*.

² *Jauhar* makes the general statement that people of all ages from 7 to 70 years were to proceed to welcome the king.

³ But the head and the neck of the prince's horse were to be behind those of Humāyūn's.

stay in the city, he was to be kept engaged and amused by the noted musicians, singers, and instrumentalists and every important person of the district was to be available for interview with him. In fact every 'genial and sweet-spoken person' was to be assiduous in entertaining him.

(3) The city of Herāt was to be lavishly decorated as an expression of the nation's joy. There was to be *chahartāq-bandī*¹ from the gate of the Chahārbāgh, where lay the royal palace to the Khiyābān where was situated the Bāgh-Īdgāh.²

(4) A news-writer was to remain attached to Humāyūn's train. His duty would be to note down in the form of a diary all the details of Humāyūn's reception from the day that the chosen 500 received the Mughal chief to the day when he entered the city. When the diary was completed it was to be sealed and despatched to the Shāh.

(5) Muḥammad Khān, the deputy governor, was to entertain Humāyūn in Herāt and the governors of Ghuriān, Fushang, Karshū, in their respective headquarters. Where the governors were too poor individually to incur the expenses of the lavish entertainment as prescribed by the Shāh, several of them were to combine e.g., those of Khāf, Tarshīz, Zāwahā,³ and Muḥawwalāt were to entertain him jointly at a place other than their headquarters. Wherever possible some nobles were to play the host.⁴

¹ Whatever the phrase might indicate, Beveridge thinks it to mean an edifice with 4 domes. Tāq might also mean an arch, so the phrase would mean an erection with four arches.

² The royal palace would form the heart of the city and Bāgh-Īdgāh would be at one extreme end of the city and so from one end to the other it would be a considerable distance.

³ M. R. calls it Zāwah.

⁴ As T. A. says:

مقرر شد که از دامغان تا اردوی شاهی در هر منزل یکے از ایشان (اکابر و

Humāyūn had reached Herāt on 20th *Zulqa'da* (14th February, 1544)¹ and even on 1st *Zulhijj* (25th February) was there. He was interested in the city which only a few decades back had been the capital of a Tīmūrid prince.² As the Persian festival of the New Year was near, he chose to stay in Herāt till it was over³. There were frequent assemblies in Humāyūn's palace. In the first meeting, Šābir Qāq, a famous reciter, chanted one of the odes of Amīr Shāhī,⁴ which begins with

مبارک منزله کن خانه را ماهی چنین باشد
همایون کشوری کن عرصه را شاه چنین باشد

“Blessed the abode to which such a moon hath come,
August the dominions where there is such a Shāh.”
Another line was:—

ز (نېج و راحت گیتی مرنجان دل مشو خرم
که آئین جهان گله چنان گله چنین باشد

“Be neither grieved nor overjoyed at pain or pleasure
of this world:
For the mode of the world is that now one will pre-
vail and now the other.”⁵

عیان و اشراف) بلوازم مهمانداری قیام نمایند

T. Kb. T. also makes a similar statement.

¹ *Kb. T.* has 1st *Zulqa'da* 955 A. H. (December 2, 1548)—evidently an incorrect date.

² Herāt contained the tomb of Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī. See *Kb. T.* According to *T. S. A.* the city stretched 3 or 4 *farsang*, i.e., 10 or 14 miles. The date 20th *Zulqa'da* is given by *R. A. T.*

³ *Jauhar* says that Humāyūn stayed in Herāt for a month.

⁴ For Amīr Shāhī's life and diwān, see *B. N. Catalogue*, Vol. I, 640a.

⁵ *B. H. P. L.* on pp. 499 and 501 quotes two of his verses, one an elegy on his patron, Bāisungar Mirzā's death and the other a *qaṣīda* showing his conceit. Daulat Shāh's appreciation of Amīr Shāhī is in these words: ‘Scholars are agreed that in the verse of Amīr Shāhī are combined the ardour of Khusrāu, the grace of Ḥasan, the delicacy of Kamāl and the clarity of Ḥāfiẓ.’

When Ṣābir repeated this verse, Humāyūn, remembering the ups and downs of his own life, was deeply touched and though short of funds 'poured into the skirts of Ṣābir's hopes.' During his stay, Humāyūn took the opportunity to meet 'many of the ascetics, religious persons, lofty-souled men and famous men of learning.'

Humāyūn's stay had been fairly long in Herāt, so when the festivities of the New Year were over, he started for holy Mashad.¹ On the way he stopped at Jām (March 29),² where lay buried *Ḥaẓrat* Shaikh Aḥmad, the saintly ancestor of both his mother, Māham Bēgam and of his wife Ḥamīda Bānū. Then he passed on to Mashad, one of the most sacred pilgrimages for a Shī'a.³ On his approach, the governor, Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Istajlu, accompanied by the leading Sayyids of the town, received him with due honour. He arrived in Mashad on the 15th *Muḥarram*, 950 (April 8, 1544) and stayed there for full forty days.⁴

Jauhar describes Humāyūn's first visit to the Imām's tomb, when he was accompanied by five of his followers including the writer. At first he was not admitted to the mortuary chamber; for the chain that fastened the door would not loosen; but when the king, after a prayer, opened it, he was admitted. He then went round the tomb and afterwards sat down to read the *Qurān*. He ended his visit with a menial service, viz., snuffing the candle, burning

¹ *Kb. T.*, *T. Kb. T.*, *T. S. A.*, and *M. T.* call it Mashad-i-Tūs; *Jauhar* says that Humāyūn was now accompanied by Bubaq Bēg or of Ubaid Khān of Turān's nobles.

² For Beveridge's correction of the date as given in *A. N.*, see p. 434 n. 4.

³ Here lies buried the 8th Shī'a Imām, 'Alī-ar-Raẓā *bin* Mūsā al Kāzim. *N. M.* calls the Imām.

امام همام عاليه مقام سلطان اولياء الله العظام

⁴ *Jauhar*.

by the actual tomb.¹ The visit to Mashad must have been highly gratifying to his Shī'a wife, Ḥamīda Bānū. Humāyūn was in no hurry and, if allowed, would have extended his stay at Mashad, but an order came from the Shāh that the Mughal chief should be asked to hasten to Qazvīn in order to meet him.

So from Mashad he passed on rapidly to Nīshāpūr in two days, where he visited the turquoise mines in the neighbourhood; to Sabzawār in 7 days and to Damghān in 3 days.² From Damghān he retraced his steps north-eastward and went to Bīṣṭām in order to visit the tomb of the saint Taifur-bin-ʿĪsā, popularly known as Bayazīd or Abu Yazīd. He was a *Mujtabid* of his time and later on founded one of the orders known as the Taifurī order,³ and was known as the *Baḥr-i-ṭāmī*, the swelling ocean. Next he visited Samnām where lay the tomb of Shaikh ʿAlāuddaula Samnāmī and retraced his steps further eastward in order to reach Sūfīābād where the Shaikh had written his work entitled *Urwat-li-Abl-il-khilwat-wal-jalwat*⁴ in 1321 A.D. So

¹ B. B. T. H. B. also describes the snuffing of the candle.

² The story of throwing dirt into a well and causing a storm to spring up thereby has been repeated by several writers. A similar story has been mentioned earlier about a spring in Ghaznī in Maḥmūd Ghaznavī's time. Bābur, less credulous than others, made enquiries about the latter but could find no trace of the spring.

³ For some of Bayazīd's Sufistic utterances, see B. II. P. L., 425-28. A few are quoted here:—

‘I am the throne of God.....’

‘I am the truth; I am the true God’

‘I must be celebrated by Divine praises’

‘Verily I am God: there is no God but me, therefore worship me.’

Seven times Bayazīd had been expelled from Bīṣṭām but each time he returned.

⁴ See A. A. Vol. III, by Jarrett, 376 and n. 1; also B. M. Catalogue, 413a, 439a, and 620a. The Shaikh had to his credit one historical work on the Persian kings of Samnām.

far the Mughal chief had visited only those places where lay the shrines of divine worshippers.¹ Next he went to Rai,² Aghzwār, Maimana, Dars, and finally, after a pause, to Qazvīn, the Shāh's capital. As a matter of policy, Humāyūn had sent Bairam Khān forward to meet the Shāh in Qazvīn as his *wakīl*. It was rather unfortunate that at the very first meeting, some differences arose between the two. The Shāh wished Bairam Khān to cut his hair short and to wear the special Shī'a cap popularly known as the *tāj*; but the latter protested on the ground that he was a servant of someone else without whose consent he could not agree to the request. The Shāh was displeased with the answer and gruffly told Bairam Khān to act as he pleased and in order to further terrify him killed some heretics known as Chirāgh-kush.³ He also grew cold to his Mughal guest and ordered him to stay where he was but to send Bubaq Bēg on to him. It was when Bubak reached Qazvīn that the Shāh was somewhat mollified and sent further orders to Humāyūn to proceed to his capital.

It was midsummer and the Shāh had moved on to his summer headquarters, Sultāniya⁴ and Sūrlīq; in the meantime he had sent gifts to his guest and had asked his nobles and common subjects to give him a hearty welcome in his

¹ As the Author of *M. R.* on p. 576 says:

این توفیق ایشان را میسر بوده که در سنو و حضر پیوسته زیارت خدایوستان
توسل میداشتند و بظافر و باطن با زنده دلان صحبت میداشتند

² Where had died the ascetic 'Abdullāh in 320 A.H. See *A. A. III.*, 352 n. 2.

³ The tenets of the Chirāgh-kushes are not definitely known. From the phrase it might be supposed that they were immoral and committed sins after the lights had been put out. See Erskine, *History of India, Vol. I*, 287 n.

⁴ Sultāniya, Zanjan, Rai, Abhar are mentioned in *A. A. Vol. III.*

stead.¹ Humāyūn stayed for three days in the house of the *kalāntar*, (the magistrate), Khwāja ‘Abdul Ghānī.² Then he moved on for the Shāh’s camp and, after a whole night’s travel, halted and encamped in the morning. From Bairam Khān, who joined him now, he learnt that he was close to the Shāh’s camp and that the Shāh’s subjects were presently coming to welcome him. So Humāyūn hastily got ready to meet them in his *dīwān-khāna*. First the *wakīls* of the Sultāns i.e., the nobles, paid him a visit, next those of the Khans, next those of the Mirzās and, last of all, the chief Sayyids. When Humāyūn reached the Shāh’s camp, he was received again in the same order e.g., by the Sultāns first and then by the Khāns and lastly by the Mirzās.

Humāyūn moved on to Sultāniya but the Shāh had gone to encamp in the open between Sultāniya and Abhar,³ about 20 miles south-east of the former town. When the Mughal chief finally moved towards the Shāh’s camp, he was received first by the nobles and then by the Sayyids and the learned and then by the Shāh’s brothers, Bahrām M., Alqās M. and Sām M.⁴ Bahrām M., presented an unbroken horse and made a request that Humāyūn should enter the city riding on it. It was the Shāh’s subtle way of testing his guest’s skill as a rider. Humāyūn not comprehending the purport of the request, agreed and easily controlled the fiery horse and thus came out successful through the ordeal. Even the commonest citizen came and saluted the ex-king in the Arab fashion which, according

¹ At Qazvīn on the first day the *kalāntar*, on the second the qāzī, and on the third the citizens in a body played the host.

² Even the Shāh had formerly stayed in this house.

³ *A. N.*, *M. R.*, and *Far.* The place named Bīlāq Sūrlīq was situated on the river Abhar. *Bad.* calls the meeting-place Ilaq Surtaq, and *T. S. A.* Sārūq Bīlāq.

⁴ *G. H. N.* and *R. A. T.*

to Jauhar, indicated a greater sense of equality among the Īrānīs.

The Shāh himself now came forward to receive his royal guest, *Jumādal-awwal*, 951 (July 1544).¹ The first *darbār* in which the two kings met was held in a picture-gallery newly constructed. Humāyūn was seated on the Shāh's right and put on the Shī'a *tāj*² and took food along with his host, who, after the dinner, prostrated himself in gratitude to God for bringing a king like Humāyūn to his kingdom. The guest was staying with Bahrām M., who presented three *sar-o-pās* to him. The next day, when the Shāh was about to make a move to Sultāniya, the Mughal chief went to bid him farewell; but the Shāh paid no attention to him and the chief qāzī³ explained Shāh Tahmāsp's rudeness as due to the ill-behaviour of Humāyūn's followers. As the Mughal chief considered it partly due to sectarian differences between himself, a liberal Muslim, and the Shāh, a fanatical Shī'a, Humāyūn now protested to the qāzī his faith in the Imāms and later on declared himself a Shī'a in the Shāh's presence.

The poet Mirzā Qāsim Gunābādī has described the first interview of the two kings in the following lines:—

دو صاحب قرآن در یکی بزمگاه	فران کرده باهم چو خورشید و ماه
دو نور بصر چشم اقبال را	دو عید مبارک مه و سال را
دو کوکب کز ایشان فلک را ست زین	بهم در یکی عرصه چون فرقدین
دو چشم جهانی بهم همعنان	بهم چون دو ابرو تواضع کنان
دو سعد فلک را یکی برج جای	دو والا گهر را یکی درج جای

¹ B. B. T. H. B. says that the meeting took place at Zanjan, T. A. at Bīlāq Sūrlīq. See also R. A. T. for other details.

² *Jauhar*.

³ M. A. says that he was وکیل مطلق العنان of the Shāh.

- “1. Two Lords of auspicious conjunction in one
banquet hall
Living together like the sun and the moon.
2. Fortune’s two beloved sons
Two blessed ‘Īds, for the month and the year.
3. Two stars which deck the sky
Are together like Farqadain¹
4. Two eyes of the world, equal in every respect
Joining in courtesy like the two eye-brows.
5. Two stars in one zodiacal sign
Too glorious pearls in one casket.”

Presents on an extravagant scale were again made by the Shāh² to his guest and his followers. In the conversation that followed, the Shāh made appreciative remarks on his guest’s valour and military skill³ and attributed his misfortunes not to any fault of his but to the disloyalty of his brothers.⁴ He reminded him of their longstanding friendship, besought him to look upon him as his younger brother, assured him of every help, and even of personal service, if necessary.

After the *darbār* was over, festivities were held daily for some time. Ṭahmāsp entered personally into all the details with the result that many entertainments of a novel kind were arranged and no money was spared to make them a success. All that Persian craft and skill could invent was there to add to the dignity of the occasions.⁵

¹ The two bright stars *B* and *r* of Ursa minor. Called also *far-qadān*.

² *A. N.*, *T. S. A.* and *T. Kb. T.*

³ *T. S. A.*

⁴ *R. T.*, *Far.* and several others give a different version. *M. J. N.* makes the Shāh observe that it was his guest’s sword that had obtained Hindustān for the Mughals.

⁵ See *A. N.* for the details for the festivities.

Humāyūn had met with such a lavish hospitality and had been the cause of such a heavy expenditure to the Shāh and his subjects that he now felt it incumbent on him to make compensations for this huge expenditure by an offer of suitable presents to his host. So he offered through Bairam Khān a large diamond,¹ other smaller diamonds, 250 Badakhshān rubies and a number of pearls, which all taken together were probably worth more than all the expenses incurred on his account during his stay in Īrān.

Then the two kings travelled together to Sultāniya where another series of festivities was held, among which may be mentioned the *qamargāh* hunts. The order in which the different parties entered the arena has been carefully noted. First, the Shāh and the Mughal chief, then Bahrām M.² and Sām M., and then after them Khwāja Mu‘azzam, Bairam Khān, Hājī Muḥammad Kōkī, Roshan Kōka, Hasan Kōka and several others of the Mughal followers. With them also entered a few of the Shāh’s officers, e.g., ‘Abdul-lāh Khān Istajlu, son-in-law of the late Shāh Isma‘īl, Abul Qāsim Khalfā, Sundak Sultān, Qūrchī Bashī Afshār, Badar Khān Istajlu, and Shāh Qulī *Mobardār*. Last of all, a general permission was granted to the commonalty to enter and enjoy the game. Even the commonest troopers

¹ Beveridge quotes British Museum MSS. No. 153 to identify it with Bābur’s diamond or with *Kob-i-noor*, which may be correct, for *M. J. N.* and *T. S. A.* remark that it came into Humāyūn’s possession at the time of the conquest of Hindustān. *A. N.* considers it ‘worth the revenues of countries and climes’. The Shāh sent it again as a present to Nizām Shāh of the Deccan. See also *Jauhar*. According to *G. II. N.*, 61b, Humāyūn made the present in order to please the Shāh whose mind had been turned against him by Khwāja Ghāzī and Roshan Kōka. But Humāyūn, to the Shāh’s surprise excused them. *R. A. T.* gives the weight of the diamond as 4 *misqāls* and 4 *dāngs*. This would be equivalent to about 7 drams.

² The writers relate how Bahrām M. treacherously shot Abul Qāsim Khalfā.

got interested in securing their game.¹ Other *qamargāhs* followed and also manly sports like polo and archery. In the last Bairam Khān and Hājī Muḥammad Kōkī especially distinguished themselves and obtained titles as a reward.²

All this time there had been some controversy in Ṭah-māsp's court as to whether the Shāh was to support his guest's cause or not. Most of the Īrānī nobles were against the proposal, their reasons being, if *Jauhar* is to be believed, that firstly Bābur, the guest's father, had played false and had Najm-i-sānī killed,³ secondly Kāmran had already written to the Shāh promising to return Qandahār so that, without shedding any Īrānī blood in Humāyūn's cause, a coveted district might be obtained; and thirdly that Humāyūn, now a humble suppliant, was once, after his return from Gujrāt, so conceited as to proclaim himself a king greater than the Shāh and hence now deserved no support. Even Bahrām Mirzā, the next brother to the Shāh, was prejudiced against the guest.⁴ It was mainly due to the Shāh's sister, Shāhzāda Sultānam,⁵ that the discussion ended in Humāyūn's favour. She emphasized the Mughal chief's interest in 'Alī and quoted the verse:

¹ According to *B. B. T. H. B.* the first *qamargāh* had lasted for 7 days.

² Bairam Khān, who was a Bēg so long, now got the title of Khān and the Hājī that of Sultān. According to *R. A. T.*, Bairam also got

طبل و علم و بارگاه

³ See *B. N.*, 361.

⁴ See *Far.*, 236; *Bad.*, 444, *Kb. T.*, *T. Kb. T.*, *T. S. A.*, *S.S.* and *R. T.* *Jauhar* makes him agreeable to Humāyūn's interests.

⁵ *N. M.* Note that she is addressed a Shāhzāda and not Shāhzādī. She was usually present in the *qamargāh* hunts, taking her stand on horse-back behind her brother, the Shāh. She played the hostess to Hamīda Bānū and her regard for the Bānū interested her in the Bānū's husband. For the details, see *G. H. N.* fol. 58a and b, 59a and b.

ماںیم ز جان بنده اولاد علی هستیم همیشه خرم از یاد علی
چون سر ولایت از علی ظاهر شد کردیم همیشه ورد خود ناد علی

“Wholeheartedly am I a bondsman of ‘Alī’s progeny.
Am always happy in remembrance of ‘Alī,
As none but ‘Alī comprehended the secret teachings
of the Prophet,
It is well that I constantly repeat on the rosary the
name of ‘Alī.”¹

At the end of the festivities, the Shāh handed to Humāyūn a list of the troopers, with their officers, who had been chosen to aid him in recovering his lost territories² and made other sets of gifts.³ Then a third *qamargāh* hunt was enjoyed⁴ and the Shāh bade farewell to Humāyūn at Miāna.⁵

But Humāyūn was not in a hurry to leave Persia. Either because he had grown more spiritual and less materialistic or because he wished to show his regard and veneration for the illustrious ancestors of the Shāh, he now chose to go to Tabriz and Ardibil and directed Hajī Muḥammad Kōkī to go direct to Qandahār with Ḥamīda Bānū. The Īrānī soldiers in the meantime were ordered to get

¹ There are small variations noticeable among the writers when they quote the quatrain; e.g., some have preferred *شاد با* in place of *ماںیم* and *یاد* in place of *ناد*. Literally *ناد* means ‘sound’.

² The number of soldiers varies from 10,000 to 14,000. Only T. Kh. T. puts it at 20,000. The names of the officers are given in A. N. and B. B. T. H. B. Bayazīd Biāt was with Humāyūn in Īrān.

³ See R. A. T.

⁴ According to G. H. N. there were 8 *qamargāhs* in all. Ḥamīda Bānū enjoyed them seated on a camel or in a horse-litter.

⁵ Situated in Azarbaijān, it will be seen that the 3 *qamargāh* hunts enclosed an area of more than 100 miles in length. *Jauhar* makes a mention how occasionally Humāyūn played the host and how once he presented a diamond ring to Bahrām M.

their accoutrements and to join the Mughal chief on the bank of the river Halmand. Humāyūn first went to Tabrīz which once had belonged to the Tīmūrid prince, Mīran Shāh Mirzā. At Tabrīz he visited the dam across the stream that flowed from the Sahand mountains, also the chief market known as Bāzār-i-Qaisaria and the Dome of Syria.¹ The city was, like other places *en fête* in honour of the distinguished guest and, besides the usual sports new ones, peculiar to the locality e.g., hockey and wolf-dancing, were enjoyed. Tabrīz, once the premier city of Īrān, now lay in ruins, mainly as the result of its many earthquakes, and Humāyūn, while passing from one ruin to another, was reminded of the following verse:

افسوس که سرمایہ ز کف بیرون شد
وز دست اجل بسے جگرها خون شد
کسی نآمد از آن جہاں کہ تا پرسم از و
کاحوال مسافران عالم چون شد

“Alas that the substance hath slipped from the palm.
And that many persons have bled at death’s hand.
None cometh from the other world that I may enquire
How it fared with the travellers thereto.”²

Here in Tabrīz he met Khwāja ‘Abdus Ṣamad who already had earned a name as a painter and calligraphist³ and later in life became Akbar’s court-painter and founder

¹ *Jauhar*. He says that it was built with the materials brought from Syria.

² M. J. N. has سرمایہ instead of سر رشته See also T. S. A.

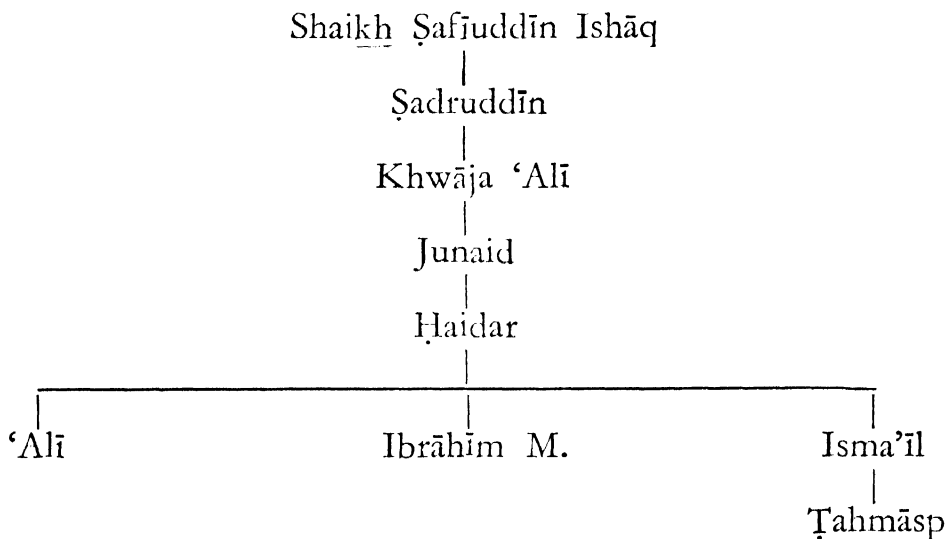
³ Son of Khwāja Nizām-ul-mulk, who had been a *wazir* of a local prince of Shirāz. In Akbar’s time he was a very influential courtier, though holding a *mansab* of 400 only. He was a poet and member of the Dīn-i-Ilāhī. His son, Muḥammad Sharif, was the *Amīr-ul-umarā* in Jahāngīr’s reign.

of a school of painting. Humāyūn, who was a connoisseur of art, invited him to join him. This he declined for the present, possibly because the inviter was without any territory of his own and was dependent on another's charity for his subsistence but he joined him later in Kabul.

Thence, after a four days' journey,¹ he reached Ardibil. There he stayed for a week and was met by all the Shaikh-zādas of the place.² Shaikh Ṣafiuddīn Ishāq brought the family into fame and his son Ṣadruddīn Ṣafī was esteemed by Tīmūr. Humāyūn visited the two tombs³ as well as that of Shāh Isma'il. He next visited Tāram, Kharzbil, and Surkhāb and then reached Qazvīn again, where accidentally the Shāh had also arrived at the same time. Since the latter had bid adieu to his royal guest, he was not a little surprised to see him lingering still in the Persian capital. So now he sent a peremptory order to Humāyūn to make a move, and this the latter did. Humāyūn joined his wife

¹ *Jauhar*.

² i.e. the descendants of Shaikh Ṣafiuddīn Ishāq. The genealogy of Shāh Ṭahmāsp from the Shaikh is



³ *M. J. N.* says, that the main object of Humāyūn's visit was the shrine of Shaikh Ṣafiuddīn.

at Sabzawār but again parted from her, she travelling by the route of Tabas, while the ex-king retraced his steps to Mashad. The governor and citizens of the town displayed profuse hospitality once more to their guest. Humāyūn had reached Mashad on the 30th *Ramẓān* 951 A.H. (December 15, 1544 A.D.).¹ His journey had been so rapidly completed that he had not given sufficient time to the Persian auxiliary troops to gather together and so Humāyūn had to stay for a full week at Mashad and he utilized his ample leisure in meeting the learned of Mashad and also of other towns in the neighbourhood, e.g., Shaikh Abul Qāsim Jurjānī, Maulānā Ilyās of Ardibīl, Maulāna Jamshīd, the enigmatist, and Mullā Hairatī of Kāshān and in having sufistic, philosophical, scientific, or literary discourses with them. Once Hairatī brought to Humāyūn the following quatrain:

که دل از عشق بتان که جگر میسوزد عشق هر لحظه بداغ دگر میسوزد
همچو پروانه بشمع سروکار ست مرا که اگر پیش روم بال و پر میسوزد

“At times my heart and at others my liver is consumed
from love of the beloved;

Love makes new scars every moment:

Like a moth my only concern is with a candle;

So that if I approach it, my wings are burnt away.”

Humāyūn made a slight alteration in the last hemistich and then it read:

میروم پیش اگر بال و پر میسوزد

“I go forward even if my wings are then burnt away.”

¹ M. J. N. has mixed up the chronology of Humāyūn's visits to the different towns. *Bad.* gives an anecdote when an Īrānī rebuked Humāyūn for introducing *ẓamīn-bōs*, then a novel form of salutation, see p. 446.

The amendment emphasises the purport of the poet, viz., knowingly we go to the candle and in doing so we cut away all escape from it.¹

From Mashad the ex-king seems to have gone to Jām again, for on the tomb of the Shaikh is an inscription by him which may be reproduced here:

O thou whose mercy accepts the apology of all.
The mind of every one is exposed to Thy Majesty.
The threshold of Thy gate is the *qiblah* of all people.
Thy bounty with a glance supports every one.

And beneath it is inscribed:

سرگشته وادی بی سوانجام محمد شمایون - ۱۴ شوال ۹۵۱

“A wanderer in the desert of destitution, Muḥammad Humāyūn, 14th *Shawwāl*, 951 (December 29, 1544).”²

From Jām he went to Tabas and there joined his wife and then, rapidly travelling together, reached Sīstān. The Persian army had already collected under the leadership of the infant-prince Mīrzā Murād³ and his guardian, Budāgh Khān Qāchār.⁴

We would conclude the chapter with a few general observations:

(1) Humāyūn had gone to Īrān more with a view to

¹ Sufistically it would mean that we all should turn to God, although in doing so we burn all our yearnings for the material. شمع

² Bairam Khān had another inscription. The author of *M. R.* states to have seen both of them in the year 1020 A. H. (1611-12 A.D.) Sykes also quotes Humāyūn's inscription in his *History of Persia*, Vol. II, 165.

³ R. T. calls him شیرخواره and Far. طفل گهواره

⁴ A. N., M. R., B. B. T. H. B., and R. A. T. mention the names of some of the officers. According to the last, the Persian army, after the capture of Qandahār, was to proceed to Ghaznī and Kabul.

passing on to Irāq and Arabia than with any definite hopes of getting military aid from the Shāh, and it may be said that, after his repeated failures in Sind and lately in Qandahār, he had given up all hopes of a turn of his fortune. In fact, the generous aid rendered by Shāh Ṭahmāsp was unique in character,¹ and if a search be made for another such example, it will be found again in the same family, viz., in Shāh Ismaʿil's efforts, though unsuccessful to re-install Bābur on the throne of Samarqand in 1511-12 A.D. Abul Fazl and other Indian writers² have tried to belittle the Shāh's magnanimity by pointing out that it was repaid several times over by Humāyūn when he made a present of his precious stones including the diamond obtained after the battle of Pānīpat and of the precious pearls. These writers forget the sanguinary nature of the ex-king's host. The Shāh could be cruel if he chose and could easily have deprived his guest and his Mughal followers of all their possessions, and contemporary history could have found nothing reprehensible, or at least unusual, in such an action of the Shāh.

(2) It is asserted by some of the Persian writers³ that Ṭahmāsp had agreed to render military aid on three conditions (1) on Humāyūn's becoming a Shī'a, (2) on his agreeing to spread Shī'ism in India, and (3) on his promising to return Qandahār to the Shāh. We have seen above that Humāyūn had actually put on the Shī'a *tāj* and had shown his deep reverence for the Imāms. He had had, in his illustrious father Bābur, a Muslim of a very liberal type

¹ *C. H. I. IV*, 40 says that Humāyūn's reception was more designed to exhibit the magnificence of his host than to do honour to an emperor of India.

² The authors of *M. J. N.*, *M. R.*, *M. A.*

³ *Far.*, 237 and *Bad.*, 545.

and, in his mother and wife, two ladies of Shī'a persuasion. That on such a person fanaticism would sit very slightly, can hardly surprise us. It was his breadth of views that had attached Bairam Khān to him and had prompted the latter to refuse the generous offer of honour and rank from the Shāh and had led him to choose the life of an exile once again.¹

Again, if we carefully analyse Humāyūn's character and his father's, we shall see that both of them were deeply pious, but at the same time highly liberal also. For example, Humayūn always loved to move among the learned and the religious. When he journeyed through Īrān, he sought to visit the holy places like Mashad, Jām, Biṣṭām, Ardibīl and Tabrīz, and took pleasure in visiting the shrines of the tombs of the Shī'a saints. A modern mind may scoff at the Sunnī Humāyūn's veneration for the Shī'a saints; but if one were to remember the depth of his despair caused by the ingratitude of his brothers, his nobility of soul which refused to retaliate or do any harm to them under any circumstances, his pious nature and the deep affection shown by his Shī'a wife and servant, one would probably absolve him of any hypocritical motives in his visits to the Shī'a shrines.

In a discussion of the subject of his acceptance of Shī'ism, we may be allowed to suppose that Humāyūn had neither any hatred for the sect nor did he show any special preference for it as against Sunnism. If he put on the Shī'a *tāj* and professed Shī'ism to the Shāh's Qāzī-i-Jahān, it was under compulsion. He was not so convinced of any defects in Shī'ism as to die a martyr for the cause of Sunnism. Since he was in a Shī'a land and had been

¹ See *M. R.*, 494-95.

pressed to declare himself a Shī'a by the men in power, he had agreed to do so. The declaration did not cause any wrench to his heart. In fact without abandoning his Sunnism, he thought he could show his regard for Shī'ism.¹

With regard to the expectation that he would encourage conversion into Shī'ism later on in India, the opportunity never actually arrived. He died too soon after the occupation of Delhi. During his last Indian campaign that led to the reconquest of the Punjab and the Delhi and Agra districts, he gave every prominence to his Shī'a nobleman, Bairam Khan. He had called him

فرزند سعادت مند - یار وفادار - برادر نیکو سیر - همدم غمگسار

'the fortunate son, faithful friend, brother of good disposition, and dear companion,' made him Khan-Khanan and tutor-guardian, اتالیق of his son Akbar, and also conferred on him the second title of Khān-i-Bābā, 'Lord-father.' At the same time he maintained a balance between him and the other Īrānīs on one side and the Sunnī nobles like Tardī Bēg and Shāh Abul Ma'ālī on the other. Between Bairam Khān, the guardian, and Ḥamīda Bānū, the mother, it was to be expected that Akbar would grow up more a Shī'a than a Sunnī Muslim.

The cession of Qandahār was the third condition accepted by the Mughal chief. It must be confessed that he never fulfilled the condition, during the remainder of his life. It speaks well of the Shāh's forbearance that he bore with this non-compliance for the next twelve years or so and never did any harm to his former guest.

(3) The services of Bairam Khān and Ḥamīda Bānū²

¹ Of course, Kāmraṇ always twitted him for his Shī'a professions.

² According to N. M. as a reward for her company in exile Humāyūn had given her the title of Chūlī Bēgam.

in securing Shāh Ṭahmāsp's goodwill cannot be over-estimated. Had they not been with Humāyūn the splendid hospitality of the Irānians would not have been forthcoming nor could the disciplined Qizlbāsh army have been secured. Bairam Khān guided his chief through the Shī'a land and Ḥamīda Bānū's influence with Sultān Khānam,¹ the Shāh's sister, was of paramount value in tiding over a crisis during a discussion in the Shāh's family whether Humāyūn's cause should be supported or not.² Those others who among the Iranians upheld Humāyūn were Qāzī-i-Jahān Qazvīnī, the king's Dīwān³ and Ḥakīm Nūruddīn Muḥammad Ṭaiyib, the Shāh's confidant.

(4) It is to the credit of Shāh Ṭahmāsp that he did not mention his magnanimity in his own memoirs⁴ nor did the contemporary Persian historians.⁵ Not only did he keep his word by sending the full number of soldiers but also ensured unity of Mughal command by placing the Persian army under his infant son, Murād Mirzā.⁶ This prince died within a few months of his arrival at Qandahār, probably due to the hardships of the camp life but the Shāh made no grievance of his son's death.

(5) The general results of Humāyūn's sojourn in Irān and his contact with the Irānīs have been of a far-

¹ She was commonly called Sultānam.

² Several writers have mentioned that but for Sultān Khānam's influence, Bahrām Mirzā would have wreaked vengeance on the Mughal guest by turning the Shāh against him. For Bahrām Mirzā's prejudices against Humāyūn, see *Far.*, 236; *Bad.*, 444, *Kb. T.*, *T. Kb. T.*, *T. S. A.*, and *S. S.*

³ *Far.*, calls him *Nāẓir* of the *Dīwānī* i.e., Superintendent of the Finance department, *Kb. T.* and *T. S. A.*, *Wazīr*, *M. A.*, *وكيل حلق العنان* of the Shāh. *Tazkira-i-Ṭahmāsp*, *Wazīr* and *Ṣāhib-i-dīwān*.

⁴ Entitled *Tazkira-i-Ṭahmāsp*. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has published the work.

⁵ Except the author of *R. A. T.*

⁶ See *R. T.* and *Far.*

reaching character:—

(a) It re-cemented the cordial relations of the two peoples the Indian and the *Īrānīan* that had commenced from *Bābur's* time or even earlier.

(b) It allowed the *Īrānīan* language and culture to permeate more deeply into the *Mughal* court and the Indian society. *Turkī*, the mother-tongue of the early *Mughal* kings, receded more and more into the background. If to-day the language of *Īrān* occupies a significant place amongst the classical languages of India, it may partly be ascribed to its continued use for the last four or five centuries.

(c) The *Īrānīs* were encouraged to emigrate in large numbers to India and they furnished soldiers like the *Shī'a* *Bairam Khān* and the *Sunnī Shāh Abul Ma'ālī*, a historian like *Khawāndamīr*, and writers like *Shaikh Zainuddīn Khāfī* and *Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī*. Most of these *Īrānīs* were *Shī'as*.

CHAPTER X

THE RE-CAPTURE OF QANDAHĀR BY HUMĀYŪN, SEPTEMBER 3, 1545

On his return journey in Īrān, Humāyūn at last reached the eastern frontier of the Shāh's territories, viz., Sīstān. He then passed on to the neighbouring province of Garm-sīr, which lay between Sīstān and the fort of Bist.¹ The Īrānī auxiliaries were led by 'Alī Sultān Bayūq Taklū and the defence of the fort was in the hands of Shāhim 'Alī Jalair and Mīr Khalj,² two of Mirzā 'Askarī's officers. It is interesting to note that when during the siege, a musket ball struck 'Alī Sultān and killed him, the Īrānī soldiers appointed his twelve-year-old son in his place and continued the siege as before. At last the fort was surrendered and *kbutha* was read in Humāyūn's name. He granted a reprieve to the garrison and its two officers, Shāhim 'Alī and Mīr Khalj, who had been presented to him with quivers tied round their necks. The officers now joined Humāyūn's service and stayed in his camp.

The next task for Humāyūn was to occupy Qandahār. Just when Bist had fallen, a report had spread that 'Askarī was about to evacuate and retreat with all his treasures to Kabul. As it was believed that the amount of treasure

¹ *A. N. and I. N. Jauhar* says its ancient name was Madain and it had been Noshīrwān's capital. It is situated according to *B. B. T. H. B.* 50 miles *میل* from Qandahār.

² *T. S. Ch.* calls him Mīr Şubḥ. *B. B. T. H. B.* gives a different name, e.g., Darwēsh Muḥammad to the commander of the garrison.

³ *Far.*, 237.

was large, it was decided to start at once for Qandahār. Humāyūn, who cared more for the fall of the fort than for the capture of his brother, in consonance with his policy in the past was willing to let 'Askarī escape with impunity but Humāyūn's officers refused to be so generous and some of them pressed forward in advance of the main army.¹ The report proved false and their haste was needless. As they were small in number their approach led to a sally from the garrison of the fort resulting in a loss of soldiers on either side. The attack was conducted half-heartedly by 'Askarī's officers; if it had been a more determined attack under the direct command of the Mirzā himself, the consequences to Humāyūn's men would have been serious and might have involved a total destruction of the contingent. But the Mirzā had a suspicion that a larger army was at hand to reinforce those that were partaking in the fight and so he refrained from joining in the battle.² Humāyūn arrived five days later, 7th *muḥarram* 952³ (March 21, 1545). With his arrival, the siege of Qandahār was taken up more systematically and 'the batteries were allotted and the captains distributed.' Skirmishes took place, in one of which, Rafī' Kōka, Kāmran Mirzā's foster-brother was captured and in another Haidar Sultān was killed and Khwāja Mua'zzam was wounded.⁴ As a precautionary measure 'Askarī sent away

¹ A. N. and I. N.

² I. N. and T. Sal. mention the death of Bābāi Sarhindī, one of the *munshīs* of Kāmran and Jaubar of Bābā Dōst Qūrjī and Mihtar Yusuf. R. A. T. states that Kāmran had rendered aid by sending Qāsim Sultān and Amīr Khalīl.

³ A. N., M. R., and *Farishṭa* correctly call it a Saturday. B. B. T. H. B. wrongly mentions the year as 950 A. H. Bayazīd Biāt is an eye-witness to many of the events, still he makes mistakes, because he wrote his history more than 40 years afterwards.

⁴ T. Sal.

prince Akbar, who had been staying so long with him, to Kāmran in Kabul.¹ When the siege had lasted three months, Humāyūn² resolved to make an appeal to Kāmran's good sense by sending Bairam Khān with letters from himself and Shāh Ṭahmāsp³ pleading for the surrender of the fort. Fighting on the way against the wild people of Hazāra, Bairam reached Kabul and presented the two missives to Kāmran in a full *darbār* at the Chār Bāgh and in order to make Kāmran stand at the time of their presentation, held a copy of the *Qurān* in his hand. The trick succeeded and the Mirzā out of reverence for the holy book stood up and Bairam presently submitted the letters to him. Next, Bairam Khān visited Akbar, who had been sent away by 'Askari in the depth of winter to Kabul along with his half-sister, Bakhshī Bānū Bēgam.⁴ Afterwards in Bāpūs Bēg's company Bairam Khān visited several other Mirzās, e.g., Hindāl M., who was under surveillance in his mother Dildār Bēgam's palace, Sulaimān M., Yadgār Nāṣir M., and Ulugh M. Bairam stayed at Kabul for a month and a half⁵ under close observation of Kāmran who was undecid-

¹ *Far.*, 237. *M. R.* gives the name of the agent who took Akbar to Kāmran as Qurbān Qarāwal.

² *T. A.* and *Bad. Far.*, makes it 6 months and means the total length of the siege. *I. N.* mentions that though it was only a mud fort, its height of 60 cubits or 90 feet made it invincible. See also *R. A. T.* for its praise.

³ *I. N.* quotes a line from the Shāh's letter to Kāmran. It runs as

کامران خارجیست میگویند - خارجی کامران نخواهد شد

Khārijīs formed a sect which did not count 'Alī among the legal successors of Muḥammad. The couplet conveys a veiled threat that if Kāmran was to deny 'Alī's greatness, he would not continue to be a king (کامران)

⁴ The princess was later on married to Sharafuddīn Ḥusain, an important nobleman in Akbar's reign.

⁵ *I. N.*

ed all this time as to how he should treat the Shī'a messenger from his elder brother. Ultimately he decided, though very reluctantly, to let him return to his master. He also entreated his aunt, Khānzāda Bēgam,¹ to accompany Bairam to Qandahār to mend matters for 'Askarī² who, he falsely stated was not under his control.³ Kāmrān's anxiety was due to the knowledge that Humāyūn, accompanied as he was by the Irānī auxiliaries, was stronger than himself and the fall of Qandahār, as it appeared likely, might endanger his own hold on Kabul. Khānzāda's mission was to plead and secure favourable terms for 'Askarī and possibly for Kāmrān also. Being fully aware of Humāyūn's generous instincts he hoped for the success of his aunt's mission.⁴

Kāmrān's despair did not affect 'Askarī and the latter continued to resist⁵ even after his aunt's arrival and the resistance was so valiantly conducted by his followers that the Irānī soldiers, brave as they were, despaired at

¹ She was the most honoured lady of the palace. She was elder to Bābur and at one time had been wife of Shaibānī Khān, the Uzbek chief. See *G. H. N.* for many interesting references to Khānzāda.

² *I. N.*

³ *M. R.*, 598.

⁴ *A. N.* and *T. A.* *G. H. N.* actually quotes the words which were:

شما بدولت پیش بادشاه بروید و میان مایان صلح بکنید

T. Kb. T. agrees with *G. H. N.*

⁵ *A. N.* and *M. R.* *I. N.* differs. It says that when the fort was about to fall into Humāyūn's hands 'Askarī asked for a respite till his aunt's arrival. In the meantime he strengthened himself. When she arrived, instead of surrendering, he renewed opposition. *G. H. N.*, makes several mistakes here (1) puts Bairam's embassy as having occurred after Khānzāda's arrival in Qandahār, (2) makes Kāmrān to be present at Qandahār along with 'Askarī, (3) assigns 40 days to 'Askarī's resistance after the princess's arrival.

one time of the capture of the fort.¹ Humāyūn however took heart and pressed on the siege. He was strengthened in his resolve by the arrival of the deserters from Kabul, among whom Ulugh M., Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā's son, Faẓāil Bēg, Mun'im Khān's brother and Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān are especially mentioned.² 'Askarī stoutly continued to resist, though his officers began to drop away one by one, among whom may be mentioned Khwāja Khizr Khān, Gulbadan Bēgam's husband, Muwaiid Bēg, the evil counsellor of Humāyūn during his retreat³ from Bengal, Isma'il Bēg, Abul Ḥusain Bēg and Munauwar Bēg and those others who were prevented from leaving the fort sent letters of encouragement. At last it was apparent to even 'Askarī that the end had arrived and that he must surrender so he now set his heart on obtaining the best terms for himself. His first proposals were that in return for the surrender of the fort he be allowed to join his brother in Kabul. When this was refused, he sought the help of his aunt who went and obtained reprieve for 'Askarī and in her train, the Mirzā reached Humāyūn's camp on Thursday, 25th *Jumāda II*, 952,⁴ (September 3, 1545). With a sword hanging round the Mirzā's neck, Bairam Khān brought him to Humāyūn in a full darbar. The latter removed the sword and seated him by his side.⁵ He and most of his

¹ *T. A.* and *Bad.* observe that the Qizilbāshīs had hoped that the Mughals would rally round Humāyūn as soon as he would reach Qandahār.

² In addition to those mentioned in the text, *T. A.* names Mirzā Ḥusain Khān and Shēr Afgan, *I. N.* Mīr Barkah. *T. Sb.* and *S. S.* Muḥammad Sulṭān M., *R. T.* Pīr Muḥammad Sulṭān and Shāh M. *T. Kb.* *T.* Mirzā Ḥasan Khān *M. R.* Dahdah Bēg Hazāra. Zamīndāwar district was distributed as *jāgīr* among the deserters.

³ The last name is given by *T. A.* and *I. N.*

⁴ *M. J. N.*, *T. Sal.* and *M. A.* give the day of the week.

⁵ According to *T. A.*, *M. T.*, and *T. Kb. T.*, Humāyūn made

officers were forgiven,¹ the only exception being made in the case of Muqīm Khān and Shāh Qulī Sīstānī, who were spared their lives but were sent to confinement with fetters on their legs and wooden boards round their necks. Though forgiven, 'Askarī too, being a confirmed mischief-maker, was placed under surveillance. The Īrānī officers wanted that he should be sent a captive to the Shāh along with the booty obtained at the occupation of the fort. To this Humāyūn would not agree and as he was prepared to go even to the length of a fight with his allies, the Īrānīs gave way.² Humāyūn's stubborn determination cooled the ardour of his allies and most of them now returned to their country, contrary to the Shāh's orders that they were to continue their support to Humāyūn in his attempt to capture Kabul also.³

For three days and nights, Humāyūn remained in possession of the fort, when no Īrānī was allowed entrance. On the fourth day, it was transferred to Muḥammad Murād M., the Shāh's son,⁴ Humāyūn retiring to the Chār Bāgh, a garden in the neighbourhood by the side of the river

no reference to the late hostilities of the Mirzā. While describing Humāyūn's forgiving nature, *Bad.* quotes the hemistich,

در عفو لذتی ست که در انتقام نیست

¹ Though, according to *T. Sh.* and *T. A.* they had to hang swords round their necks and carry shrouds or winding sheets in their hands.

² See *Jauhar* who states that the treasure-houses of Qandahār after its capture, were locked and sealed with the seals of Humāyūn, Mahar Shāh Sultān and Mīr Budāgh Khān; also that in order to intimidate the Īrānīs, Humāyūn asked each of his nobles to collect 50 fully-armed soldiers.

³ *R. A. T.*

⁴ The reason, according to *T. A.*, *Bad.* and *T. Kh. T.*, for not surrendering the fort on the first day was to allow 'Askarī's dependants three days time to collect their goods and leave the place. The transference of Qandahār to the Īrānīs is a noble act indeed, for Humāyūn at this time had no other territory.

Arghandāb.¹ Much of the booty obtained from 'Askarī and his followers was distributed among Humāyūn's soldiers² but the most valuable portion, e.g., the jewels, the sacred relics, and the cash, was sent to the Shāh along with a letter in which he referred to the fulfilment of his promises and to his encampment in the suburbs of Qandahār and not within the fort. The Shāh in return sent nine pieces of cloth and a fleet-footed mule. Humāyūn accepted them and in order to signify his acceptance rode the mule for a short distance. Humāyūn now rewarded his own nobles with *jāgīrs*, e.g., Ḥajī Muḥammad got the *parganās* of Lahu, Isma'īl Bēg of Zamīndāwar, Shēr Afgan of Qilāt, Ḥaidar Sultān of Shāl.³ Many of the Īrānīs now returned to their country.⁴

Humāyūn's success disturbed Kāmran's peace of mind, for he feared that he would be the next to suffer. So he took the precaution of getting Akbar, who so long had been staying in Khānzāda Bēgam's house, to live under his direct control,⁵ and confined the child's foster-father, Shamsuddīn Muḥammad Ghaznavī. He released Muḥammad Sulaimān M., hoping thus to conciliate him and later on make use of him and of his resources against his elder brother. Sulaimān hastened to his country and was soon after followed by Yādgār Nāṣir M., who had escaped from prison, both refusing to be tools in Kāmran's hand. Kāmran next released Hindāl M., with a request that he should pur-

¹ It was one of Bābur's creations.

² *M. A.*

³ *I. N.*

⁴ *T. A., Bad. and T. Kb. T.* They state that the only persons to stay behind beside Muḥammad Murād M. were Budāgh Khān, Abul Faṭḥ Sultān Afshār and Sūfī Walī Sultān Shāmlū. *T. Sb.* slightly differs.

⁵ According to *G. H. N.* Kāmran entrusted the child to his wife, Muḥtarīma Khānam. *T. Sal.* calls her Sultān Khānam.

sue and capture Yādgār Nāṣir M., and bring him back a captive, promising to give him in reward one-third of his territory.¹ Hindāl M. disregarded the request and instead of proceeding towards Badakhshān went southwards and joined Humāyūn.

In a way Kāmrān himself was responsible for these misfortunes. His autocratic temper had alienated his followers, though out of policy they concealed their sentiments towards him and spoke to him falsely and treacherously. Kāmrān, as it has been truly observed by Abul Faẓl, 'went from blunder to blunder from want of warning, wisdom and the absence of sound counsellors.' His only hope lay in the fact that he held Akbar in hostage and this might secure for him favourable terms from the child's father.

Let us now turn to Humāyūn. He was encamped in the suburbs of Qandahār, the fort itself being in the possession of the Īrānīs and remained there till the approach of winter. His next resolve was to occupy Kabul but he found that his own followers were lukewarm in seconding his resolve for want of a place of safety for their women and other dependants. For want of such a secure place, several of his officers, e.g., 'Abdullāh Khān and Jamīl Bēg,² fled away to Kabul.³ 'Askarī too wanted to escape but he was brought back by 'Ambar Nāẓir who discovered him hiding beneath a blanket in an Afghān house. This time, Nadīm Kōkultāsh, a more trustworthy person was made

¹ According to *I. N.*, some chiefs of Badakhshān had written to Kāmrān that unless Sulāimān M. was restored to them, they would hand over the province to the Uzbeks. The threat brought about the Mirzā's release.

² According to *M. J. N.* he was the guardian of Kāmrān's son-in-law.

³ See *R. T.* which expressly states that the desertion was due to want of security for the dependants. See also *Far.*

‘Askari’s jailor. Those Īrānīs, that still remained in Qandahār, had realized the drudgery of Humāyūn’s campaign, one siege alone occupying more than 6 months;¹ so they longed to return to their homes after this campaign of so many months in the Mughal interest. Humāyūn was vexed with the Īrānīs on two other accounts. One was that they were reciting *tabarra* and abusing the first three companions of the Prophet² and the other was that they were reported to be oppressing the citizens of Qandahār. His chance to redress the wrongs of the citizens³ and to provide a shelter for the dependants of his followers came with the death of the Īrānī prince, Muḥammad Murād M. Humayūn and his advisers decided that now that the Īrānī prince was dead, it was not possible to hand over the citizens to the leaderless Īrānī soldiers.⁴ At first the Mughal chief requested Budāgh Khān to surrender the fort temporarily⁵ for the accommodation of the Mughal non-combatants. To this the Īrānī would not agree.⁶

Then Humāyūn accused Budāgh Khān of not inform-

¹ *S. S.* gives the total period to be 6 months. See also *L. T. R. A. T.* makes 8 months and *Kb. T.* 3 months.

² See *Bad.*, 448. One sentence may be quoted

دوڑی قبرائی بو رسم عادت زشت معهود ایشان ناسازهای فاهش بر
اصحاب رسول الله بنیاد کرد

³ *Kb. T.* mentions this as the only reason for the Mughal recapture of Qandahār.

⁴ This argument of *N. M.* would hardly hold, for the prince was only an infant and his guardian Budāgh Khān, was still present in the fort. Probably Budāgh Khān, now that his ward was dead, was anxious to return to his home.

⁵ *T. A.*, *T. Sh.*, *T. Kb. T.*, and *Far.* state that the intention was that after the occupation of Kabul and Badakhshān, Qandahār was again to be returned to the Īrānīs.

⁶ *L. T.* approves of Budāgh Khān’s refusal and states that without the Shāh’s consent, he could not agree to the Mughal proposal.

ing him of the death of the prince whom he claimed to be a son and the Mughals now determined to reoccupy the fort as a punishment to Budāgh Khān.¹ Hājī Muḥammad Khān Kōkī son of Bābā Qashqā advised a second siege of the fort, but as it would be a long-drawn affair entailing the loss of a number of Mughal soldiers, the idea of the siege was abandoned and instead, a ruse was resorted to. Budāgh Khān was prevailed upon to lodge 'Askarī in some prison-house of the fort while the Mughals marched on to Kabul against Kāmrān. Hājī Muḥammad Khān,² Bairam Khān, Muwaiid Bēg and Ulugh M., made a rush at several of the gateways of the fort and for an explanation said that they were accompanying 'Askarī and guarding against his escape.³ When the ruse was discovered, there was a fight in which the Mughals were victorious, so that ultimately the fort was occupied. Budāgh Khān was allowed to retire to Īrān with his followers and baggage and Bairam Khān was appointed governor in his place. The ease with which the Mughals occupied the fort is explained by two facts: one, that most of the Īrānī soldiery had already left for their home and secondly, that the rest including Budāgh Khān, who were staying in Qandahār did not know exactly how they were to treat this demand of Humāyūn for the surrender of the fort.⁴ Probably the terms on which the Shāh had agreed to support Humāyūn's cause had not been set down in writing and very few of the Īrānīs had a clear

¹ *A. N., M. R., and Jauhar.* According to the last, Budāgh Khān escaped by making a hole in the wall of the fort.

² According to *R. T.* the Hājī was accompanied by only 3 others.

³ *T. A.* has a different version. Hājī Muḥammad possessed one of the gates when it was opened by the garrison to allow some camels laden with provisions to enter.

⁴ *Bad.* mentions that in every lane of the city, Īrānīs were murdered in cold blood. He is not corroborated by any other writer.

idea whether the Mughal chief was to be aided in his further expedition on Kābul and whether his demand that Qandahār should be temporarily returned to him should be acceded to. Humāyūn acted on what appeared to be a supreme necessity, e.g., the relief of the oppressed citizens of Qandahār, his desire to possess a secure place and his longing to embrace his child and keep him in his own company. This last desire urged him to proceed to Kabul at once. Prudence should have led him first to Sulaimān M., in Badakhshān and then with his support to Kabul. But this might have caused some delay which Humāyūn was not prepared to suffer.

So far we may agree with the Mughal point of view, which represents Budāgh Khān's refusal of a Mughal entry into the fort as an act contrary to the Shah's instructions or to the code of political morality. The campaign on which Humāyūn and his Irānī allies had originally set out was not yet over and any obstructions to its completion were to be deprecated. Humāyūn sought a compromise by placing Bairam Khān, an Irānī Shī'a Turkmān, as Budāgh Khān's successor in the governorship of Qandahār and it appears that the Shāh also was content with this measure.¹ In Mediaeval time, the International Law was in an undeveloped state and Bairam Khān by his loyal interest in his Mughal chief's affairs and also by his honest sympathy for the Shāh's zeal for Shī'ism was able to satisfy either of them of his sincerity of purpose.

¹ M. J. N. says that Humāyūn represented to the Shāh that Budāgh Khān had been removed because of his oppressions and of his acting contrary to the Shāh's orders and that in substituting Bairam Khān for Budāgh, he was appointing another servant of the Shāh. The actual words are

The occupation of Qandahār continued so that even when Humāyūn was invading India in 1554 it was with the Mughals and under Bairam Khān's control. At the end of the expedition when Delhi was occupied in 1555 and the time had arrived to fulfil the two conditions of the Shāh viz., the cession of Qandahār to the Irānīs and the reading of the Shī'a *khutba* from the pulpit the calamity of Humāyūn's death occurred in January 1556. Thus during the reign of Humāyūn, the two conditions remained unfulfilled. Even in Akbar's time, when Bairam Khān was the all-powerful regent, the Mughals seemed in no hurry to carry them out. Now, the Shāh lost patience and believing that he would be justified in his action, assembled an army and occupied Qandahār in 1558. The Mughals noticing the *fait accompli* made no protest. Thus the first condition was realized probably against the intentions of Akbar's government.

The second condition, viz., the reading of the Shī'a *khutba* was never observed probably because the Indian Mughals considered it to be a personal undertaking of their chief and the latter's death put an end to the undertaking; also because Bairam Khān, and after his downfall at the hands of the Sunnī nobles, Akbar did not consider the time to be opportune. Both of them played a waiting game, introducing more and more a Shī'a tone in the government. At one stage, Akbar had gone far in his leanings to Shī'ism. But Akbar's interest in his non-Muslim subjects and in his cosmopolitan projects, religious and secular, outstepped the narrow bounds of a sectarian leader and his interest in Shī'ism slowly faded away.

A word of appreciation may be put in for the Shāh. One cannot but notice the extraordinary patience shown by the Shāh in dealing with the Qandahār question. Not

only was Qandahār occupied by the Mughals, but also many of the Īrānīs were killed by the Mughals during the reoccupation of the fort. The Shāh bore all these misfortunes in patience and never demurred to his duties. Bairam Khān's appointment would appear to a modern mind as only a sorry compromise on the part of Humāyūn but the Shāh accepted it. It was only when Bairam had left Qandahār for India and after a lapse of four more years or of thirteen years from the date of Humāyūn's occupation, that the Shāh occupied it in 1558.

An eminent writer has recently made some observations on the Īrānī occupation of Qandahār¹. He states, 'At first sight the Persian claims look the stronger, but if we examine the nature of the help which Shāh Ṭahmāsp afforded to Humāyūn and the attitude of the Persian army towards the latter, doubts crop up. Again, it was Shāh Ṭahmāsp who started the game of duplicity which resolved the question of the occupation of Qandahār into a trial of strength by the rival parties for the maintenance of prestige.' Though the remarks were made in connection with the Mughal campaigns for the recovery of Qandahār in 1649-53 in Shāh Jahān's reign, a reference has been made to the earlier incidents of Humāyūn's reign also. It is true that there is much to be said in favour of the observations, e.g., we may remember that Qandahār had already belonged to the Mughals—only it was possessed not by Humāyūn but by his brother, Kāmrān—also, that the Shāh might be supposed to have been repaid very handsomely for all the expenses that he had incurred on Humāyūn's account:²

¹ B. P. Saxena's *Shah Jahan*, 226.

² Abul Fazl's words in *A. N.*, 439, may be quoted, 'without a doubt, all the expenditure which the Shāh, whether from his privy purse or through his officers, incurred on account of his exit therefrom

and that Qandahār was a necessary adjunct to the retention of Kabul by the Mughals. On these grounds Humāyūn may not be wholly condemned for the continued retention of the fort and the district. Still one has to confess that Humāyūn morally failed in not keeping to his terms with the Shāh to return Qandahār and it was a tardy recompense that he made in allowing the Shī'a Bairam to keep a hold on the place. As stated above, we see no duplicity in the Shāh's occupation of the place in 1558, but rather we appreciate his postponement of the recapture by thirteen years. It may also be remarked that if Qandahār formed a necessary adjunct to Kabul, it was also more easily approachable from the frontier of Irān. The fact was that the far-famed markets of Qandahār were coveted by both the Mughals and the Irānīs.

In the above examination the question of prestige referred to by Dr. Saksena has not been taken up as it had not arisen in Humāyūn's time. As a fugitive he must have been grateful to the Shāh for all the aid received at his hands in the recovery of Qandahār¹ and most probably he had neither the will nor the strength to oppose the efficient troops of his kind ally.

was hereby repaid more than four times over.'

¹ Humāyūn's gesture may be appreciated if only we remember that in India Sunnīs were politically very much superior and all the important offices had so far been monopolised by them. But it should also be remembered that the revenue of the district of Qandahār went to fill the coffers of the Mughals and not of the Irānīs.

CHAPTER XI

OCCUPATION OF KABUL BY HUMĀYŪN NOVEMBER, 1545 AND OF BADA_{KH}SHĀN, OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, 1546

Humāyūn was not content with the capture of Qandahār in September, 1545, but set his heart almost immediately on the occupation of Kabul as well. He was encouraged in his resolve by what he considered an auspicious omen. A caravan of Indian merchants, who had struck a bargain with the departing Īrānīs by a purchase of their horses, were now ready to sell them to Humāyūn and his followers on credit showing their willingness to wait for payment till Hindustān was conquered by the Mughals.¹ Humāyūn thankfully accepted the offer, wrote out the purchase-bond for a thousand horses, selected a few for his own stable and distributed the rest to his officers.² Thus

¹ *A. N.* and *I. N.* By Hindustān in the sentence is meant Kabul which had generally belonged to the Hindustān empire.

² The event is noticeable for several reasons:—

(a) It shows how Humāyūn was trusted and loved by the people of India. They had not forgotten his nobility of soul and love for justice.

(b) The Īrānīs had grown so weary of their stay in Qandahār that they were in extreme haste to return to their homes and in order to secure money for their journey, they had sold away their far-famed ‘Irāqī horses. The total number of horses thus sold was one thousand.

(c) Humāyūn purchased the horses, the money being paid from the state treasury, سرکار خالصه, and made a present of most of the horses to his followers. Though he had hardly any money to spare for extravagance or display, he thought it was his bounden duty to show this much consideration to his followers.

equipped Humāyūn and his army¹ moved to the neighbouring city of Tīrī under the guidance of Dawā Bēg Hazāra² who had not only treated his royal guest with great hospitality, offering a number of horses and goats for the royal use, but also joined him with his ten thousand followers. In the midst of this good fortune a calamity befell the Mughal chief, for, here he lost his aunt, Khānzāda Bēgam, who died after a brief illness.³ She was buried temporarily at Qabalchak and three months later was removed to Bābur's sepulchre at Kabul.

After the customary mourning period was over, Humāyūn resumed his march to Kabul. At the outset, Hindāl joined him⁴ which event Humāyūn interpreted as a second favourable omen. The winter was setting in and a pestilence was raging in the Mughal camp;⁵ so Hindāl thought it proper to make a representation that as the number of soldiers had considerably dwindled due to the rigours of the climate, the wiser plan would be to return to Qandahār for the present and to postpone the proposed expedition to Kabul till the next spring when probably Humāyūn would command far greater resources. But Humāyūn was so determined on his expedition that he rebuked his brother through Mīr Sayyid Barka⁶ for the re-

(d) Since it was a credit transaction, Humāyūn allowed the merchants to fix the price of the horses.

¹ B. B., T. H. B. gives a list of his officers and says that he had 2000 followers in all.

² R. A. T. calls him Khizr Khān. It also states that Shēr Afgan, son of Qūch Bēg joined Humāyūn with 10,000 men. There seems to be a touch of exaggeration in the statement.

³ G. H. N. calls the place of Khānzāda Bēgam's death Qabalchak.

⁴ G. H. N. says that Hindāl had chosen the *darvesh's* corner at Kabul. When he heard of Humāyūn's expedition to Kabul, he fled away along with Yādgār Nāṣir M.

⁵ I. N.

⁶ *Ibid.*

presentation and permitted him, if he so desired to retire to his *jāgīr* in Zamīndāwar. The Mirzā who had no ill motive was crestfallen and begged for his forgiveness. During the march, at Ghaznī, Jamīl Bēg who had been appointed by Kām-rān its governor¹ and guardian of his son-in-law Āq Sulṭān,² came over to Humāyūn.³

The Mughal chief reached the western outskirts of Kabul and next went to the *yort* or the station of Shaikh ‘Alī situated in Arghandeh in the Paghmān range.⁴ Kām-rān was alarmed at the approach of his elder brother and he now took vigorous measures to oppose him. He ordered his artillery-officer, Qāsim Mukhlis Turbatī, to draw up cannon on the walls of the fortress of Kabul at Jilka Daurī near Bāpūs Bēg’s residence and commanded his people and their families to withdraw and to take shelter within the fort. Next he rallied his troops⁵ and reviewed and marshalled them. When he was satisfied with his arrangements he sent a detachment under Qāsim Barlās with the intention of himself following him later. Qāsim was met at the pass of Khimār⁶ and was forced to retreat by the king’s soldiers led by Khwāja Mu‘azzam,⁷ Hājī

¹ *M. A.*

² His real name was Yāsīn Daulat. He later on showed his displeasure at Kām-rān’s continued opposition to Humāyūn and separated from him. See *G. H. N.*, 77*b* and 78*a*.

³ According to *Jauhar* most of Kām-rān’s nobles had assured Humāyūn of their adherence to him and encouraged him to proceed on to Kabul.

⁴ The word has been differently spelt Arqandī, Arghandī, etc.

⁵ According to *B. B. T. H. B.* Kām-rān had four or five thousand soldiers.

⁶ *Jauhar*, *A. N.*, *I. N.*, *M. A.*, and *M. J. N.* *G. H. N.* reads it as Himar. It gives the date of the battle as 11th *Ramṣān* 951 A. H., which is incorrect by a year.

⁷ *Jauhar* attributes the Mughal success to the prowess of Khwāja Mu‘azzam and Tōlak Qūjī.

Muḥammad and Shēr Afgan. Qāsim Barlās's defeat led to the submission to Humāyūn of several influential chiefs, e.g., Bāpūs Bēg,¹ Shāh Bardī Khān, better known as Bah-rām Saqqa,² Muṣāḥib Bēg, Khwāja Kalān Bēg's brother³ and Qarācha Bēg. As many more nobles were coming over to Humāyūn's side,⁴ the king decided at Bāpūs Bēg's suggestion to lead his army and enter the town.⁵ Seeing that his followers had deserted him⁶ Kāmrān concluded that any further resistance was futile and so in order to obtain the most advantageous terms, sent Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd and Khwāja 'Abdul Khāliq⁷ as his agents to the king. The two Khwājas met Humāyūn when he was only half a *cōs* from Kāmrān's troops.⁸ Humāyūn, as was his wont, treated the Khwājas with consideration and respect, dismounted his horse and offered the midday prayers in their company. They agreed to do all in their

¹ Who, according to *B. B. T. H. B.* had been guaranteed life and property on an early submission.

² Bayazīd Biāt's elder brother. Later on he renounced the political career for the life of a *darvesh*. See *B. B. T. H. B.* He had written a *divān* in a sufistic vein, one couplet from which may be quoted

هېچو سقا گهر از بهر خود بگف آر - که همه در و جواهر بر او خاک بهاست

He lies buried in Burdwān and under his roof lie buried also Shēr Afgan, Nūr Jahān's first husband and Qutbuddīn, Jahāngīr's foster-brother.

³ *I. N.* calls him the Khwāja's son.

⁴ *Bad.*, says the Kābul amīrs were like sheep and followed the lead of one or two in deserting Kāmrān's cause.

⁵ *Jauhar* mentions an anecdote here when Allāh Qulī Bahādur spoke to Humāyūn of his father's death and the king in reply said that he would take his father's place.

⁶ *G. H. N. Far.*, specially mentions the desertion of Qilān Bēg. *T. Sh.* calls him Kalān Bēg.

⁷ *A. N.*, *M. A.*, and *M. J. N.* *Jauhar* calls them Pīrzādas Khwāja 'Abdul Haq and Khwāja Khān Maḥmūd.

⁸ *Jauhar* says that Humāyūn was at Khwāja Bustān and Kāmrān at Guzargāh and that there was a distance of 3 *cōs* between the two places.

power to bring about peace and as they were not sure of success, promised also to return to the king by a certain time if they had any hopeful news to convey. When they did not return by the appointed time, Humāyūn himself made an effort at peace by sending Roshan Īshak Bēg but it proved unsuccessful.¹ Humāyūn had agreed to forgive Kāmran on condition of personal submission and therefore had suspended all military activities. Kāmran now got breathing time, revised his intentions, withdrew at night to the citadel, dismissed his twelve thousand troops² who all came over to the king and at dead of night, accompanied by his son, Mirzā Ibrāhīm and his women, took the road to Ghaznī by Bīnī-Ḥiṣār.³ Humāyūn sent Hindāl with seven hundred lancers in pursuit of Kāmran, his object being, if not to capture him, at least to drive him far away from Kabul. Kāmran fled from place to place, reached the Hazāra district, married his daughter, Ḥabība to Āq Sulṭān and then, unable to meet Ulugh Mirzā of Zamīndāwar, fled away to Sind. There he turned Mirzā Shāh Ḥusain into an ally by marrying his daughter.

As soon as the king heard of the Mirzā's flight he turned to pacifying the citizens and sent Bāpūs Bēg to protect them from being molested by his own troops.⁴ He himself entered at an auspicious moment in the evening⁵ of Wednesday, the 12th *Ramṣān*, 952 A.H. (November 17, 1545)⁶ and the citizens illuminated the city in his

¹ For fuller details see *Janbar*.

² M. T. and B. B. T. H. B. say that they deserted to the king.

³ A. M., T. Sh., and Far.

⁴ B. B. T. H. B.

⁵ Or to be exact when five hours of the night had passed.

⁶ A. N., N. M., S. S., M. J. N., L. T., Far., B. B. T. H. B., Bad., T. Sh., T. Kh. T., and R. T. give the date 10th *Ramṣān*; M. T., 11th *Ramṣān*; T. Kh. T., R. T. and M. T. give the year as 953 A. H. The first of these expresses a doubt and thinks 952 might as well

honour.¹ The date of the capture of Kabul was found in the chronograms, کابل را گرفت 'he took Kabul' and بے جنگ گرفت 'without a battle he took the country of Kabul from him.'

The king's first business was to meet his son, Akbar, from whom he had been separated for the last two years or more² and also Gulbadan Bēgam and Dildār Bēgam whom he had not met for the last five years.³ Next he held a *dar-bār* where he received the nobles, the soldiery and the common people. He continued to stay at Kabul during the winter and was occupied, if Abul Faẓl is to be believed, in looking after the administration of the country and in organizing justice. Khwāja Mua'zzam and Muqaddam Bēg,⁴ both faithful officers in the past were now dissatisfied with the king and were plotting to run away to Kāmrān. Humāyūn exiled Muqaddam Bēg to Kashmir and 'discarded' Khwāja Mua'zzam.

Occasionally he held festivities in the palace, some of which have been described by his sister in her *Humāyūn-nāma*. He also gave pension, land, slaves and allowances to those whose relations had been wounded or killed at Chausa, Qanauj or Bhakkar or who had been loyal to him in his days of adversity.⁵ Considering that the king's

be correct. *T. S. Ch.* gives the day of the week. *Jauhar* gives many interesting details, e.g., how the king was fasting during the *Ramẓān* days and one evening sent the author to Bēga Bēgam for food but *Jauhar* brought only cow's flesh and tripe. On seeing the inferior quality of meat, the king expressed great regret that Kāmrān could not allow better food to his revered father's widow, who had taken Bābur's corpse to Kabul.

¹ *T. Sh.*, 312, and *T. Kb. T.*

² *L. T.*

³ *G. H. N.*

⁴ He had helped Humāyūn in escaping from the battlefield of Qanauj. Later he again came back to Humāyūn.

⁵ *G. H. N.*

resources were not ample and also that he had yet to conduct other campaigns, the grants may be regarded as extravagant.

With the return of spring, it was decided to hold the circumcision ceremony of prince Akbar.¹ While the festivities in connection with the ceremony lasted, the ladies of the palace resided in the Urta Bāgh² and the chief nobles were allowed to occupy the Chār Bāgh.³ The shops of the main bazaar were all decorated⁴ and the king held banquets almost every evening.

Hamīda Bānū Bēgam⁵ who had been left behind at Qandahār with *jāgīr* in Auraq and Bihī, was now sent for and when she arrived after two months, the king arranged a meeting of all the ladies with the prince, his design being "that the prince should single out his honoured mother from the crowd of the ladies." According to Abul Faḥl, the child "without difficulty, hesitation or mistake, and in virtue of his abiding intelligence and innate discernment took refuge with his saintly mother and put himself into her arms." A. Faḥl is in raptures over the incident and dilates upon the divine mission of Akbar. One sentence may serve as an illustration. "All perceived that this was not the work of the bodily senses which put a difference between childhood and adolescence.....In this firstling of life's rosebush there is perfect contact with the primae-

¹ Most of the writers give Akbar's age to be more than four years; *T. Sh.*, eight, *G. H. N.*, five; *M. J. N.*, *M. A.* and *T. S. Ch.*, two years and ten months. Actually he was 3 years and some months old.

² *G. H. N.* calls it Bēga Bēgam's garden.

³ For minor details see *Jaṭihar*.

⁴ The technical word in Persian is آئین بندی شدن

⁵ *Far.* calls her Chūlī Bēgam, as she had accompanied her husband to Īrān through the deserts of Balūchistān and Afghānistān.

val.....and in an esoteric sense he is the father of fathers... And to his Majesty Jahānbānī (Humāyūn) it was manifest that the cosmoplast of the outer world had brought this nurseling of Creation's Spring into the field of activity.....that he might bring together and compose the distraction of the world."¹

The festivities lasted for several weeks and were held at more than one place. In one of them held at Khwāja Rēg Rawān at the upper end of the Kōh Dāman, a wrestling bout was held and the king himself entered the arena and wrestled with Imām Qulī Qūrchī, an official of inferior rank, a fact that speaks in favour of Humāyūn's sense of social equality² between man and man. On this occasion Hindāl M., wrestled with Yādgār Nāṣir M. Another festivity was held at Khwāja Se-yārān where the party had gone to visit the *arghawān* groves then in full bloom. In the final feast, fiefs, presents, and robes of honour were distributed, Hindāl getting Ghaznī, Ulugh M. Tīrī in addition to Zamīndāwar. Shāh Ṭahmāsp's envoy sent to congratulate Humāyūn on his conquest of Kabul, was also received on this occasion.³

The Turkī and the Afghān chiefs from far and near had arrived to take part in the festivities. One was Mīr

¹ For the observations in full see *A. N.*, 247. Did all these conclusions follow from Akbar's rushing into Hamīda Bānū's arms and did Akbar actually succeed in composing the various differences among the people of India in his reign? One would rather think that his religious innovations had added another discordant element to those that existed.

² The spirit of *camaraderie* had distinguished Bābur more than his son.

³ *M. R.*, 600 says that gifts were sent to Humāyūn as well as to Bairam Khān. It calls the conquest of Kabul to be the conquest of Hindustān, showing that in the mediaeval times Kabul was included in India.

Sayyid ‘Alī who had arrived from the borders of Sind¹ and another was Lavang Balūch.² Both were rewarded with *jāgīrs* in their respective regions, the Mīr in Dūkī and the Balūch in Shāl and Mashtang. The chiefs were sent back as soon as the festivities were over for fear of disturbances occurring in their absence. Gulbadan Bēgam thus concludes the description of the festivities: “Peasants and preachers, the pious, the poor and the needy, noble and plebeian, low and high everybody lived in peace and comfort; passing the days in amusement and the nights in talk.”³

Humāyūn seems to have turned over a new leaf in his policy as administrator, an illustration of which is afforded by his dealings with Yādgār Nāṣir M., and his followers. Let us make a digression here to describe Nāṣir’s past doings. We have seen how he had created trouble in Sind and then leaving Humāyūn in difficulties, had gone over to Kāmrān in Kabul. Kāmrān, who had none of the scruples of his elder brother, at once put him into prison. But Yādgār Nāṣir managed to escape and while Humāyūn marched to Kabul reached Qandahār. Bairam Khān the governor being aware of the past records of the Mirzā obtained permission from his master before he sent him on in Ḥamīda Bānū Bēgam’s company.⁴ Humāyūn was then just inaugurating the festivities in connection with his child’s circumcision ceremony and so, being in a festive mood, excused Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā’s past sins and cordially welcomed him to take part in the festivities. But Yādgār Nāṣir was incorrigible and he again started taking ‘his

¹ I. N.

² I. N. calls him Kamak Balūch.

³ G. H. N., 66b.

⁴ T. Kb. T., M. A., and M. J. N.

stand on the path of wickedness and perversity.' The king, when he got the report of Mirzā's evil intentions, first of all satisfied himself of its correctness and then imprisoned him, so that at this time both 'Askarī M., and Yādgār Nāṣir M., were staying in Bālā Hiṣār as captives. Humāyūn was more severe on Yādgār Nāṣir's associate Muẓaffar Kōka,¹ and put him to death. Very luckily the king was also relieved of Muwaiid Bēg Dōldī who died about this time, and the people said that now that Muwaiid Bēg, the arch-mischief-maker, was dead, Humāyūn's good fortune would smile and one day he would occupy Hindustān also.²

Humāyūn remained quiet throughout the winter and stayed in Kabul. With the advent of spring, he again stirred to action. He had noticed the absence from the feasts of M. Sulaimān Mirzā who had contented himself by sending his maternal uncle, Shāh Qāsim Taghāi with gifts and a letter of congratulations. When the king insisted on his personal attendance, Sulaimān M. ignored the order. There was another cause for Humāyūn's dissatisfaction. After the occupation of Kabul on the supposition of his having succeeded to Kāmrān's possessions, he had distributed some of Kāmrān's districts, e.g., Khōst and Andarāb to his own followers. But he found that already Sulaimān had possessed himself of them, they being in his neighbourhood and that the Mirzā had even extended his territories to include Qunduz which had never belonged to Badakhshān principality. Not content with these occupations Sulaimān M., had assumed royal airs and had read *khutba* in his own name. Humāyūn resented the Mirzā's assumption of royalty as much as he had done

¹ He was 'Askarī Mirzā's foster-brother.

² B. B. T. H. B. The Irānīs used to call him 'the living Satan'.

Kāmrān's and his resentment was of course partly due to public reasons. It would not do for the Chaghataī Mughals to be disunited when they had for their neighbours, the powerful Uzbeks in Central Asia and the equally powerful Sūrīs in India. If Humāyūn had allowed Kāmrān to continue to rule as an independent chief in Kabul and Sulaimān in Badakhshān, the disunited Mughals would have succumbed in the near future to one or the other of the two neighbours.

Humāyūn determined to conduct an expedition to Badakhshān in the beginning of the year 953 A.H. (March, 1546)¹ and removed the two obstacles that stood in his way. One was Yādgār Nāṣir M., whose constant disaffection had seriously hindered his plans and the other was 'Askarī M. As he got the report that the former was planning an escape,² no doubt to pursue his evil course, he took a drastic step against him. First of all he accused Yādgār Nāṣir of numerous crimes—Bayazīd Biāt counts fifty three of them—and then strangled him to death at Qarā Bāgh³ with a bow-string.⁴ In the case of 'Askarī, he contented himself with carrying him along to Badakhshān.⁵ Next, he appointed Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī his deputy in Kabul.

¹ Most of the writers agree about the date. But *M. T.* makes it 954 A. H.

² *T. Kb. T.* and *Far.*

³ *T. Sb.* wrongly states that Muḥammad Qāsim killed him without permission from the king.

⁴ *T. S. Cb.* His body was taken to Ghaznī to be buried by his father, Nāṣir M.

⁵ We see in this chapter at least three occasions when Humāyūn was unusually strict:

(a) When he imprisoned 'Askarī M.

(b) When he killed Muẓaffar Kōka.

(c) When he killed Yādgār Nāṣir M.

If he spared 'Askarī's life probably it was because of his father's command that Humāyūn should do no harm to his brothers.

Having made his arrangements, he marched to Urtā Chālāk, where according to Bayazīd Biāt, he gave up drinking strong liquors. Then he rapidly passed by Khwāja Riwaz and Qarā Bāgh and ultimately reached Andarāb. Sulaimān had determined to oppose the king here and had collected twenty thousand followers as against Humāyūn's four or five thousand. A battle took place at Tīrgirān,¹ the Mirzā valiantly defending himself and his officer, Mirzā Bēg Barlās with the help of his archers distressing the Mughals by an uninterrupted discharge of arrows from behind a trench. Several of Humāyūn's men were wounded, among whom Khwāja Mua'zzam and Bahādur, Khān may be mentioned.² But the Mughals led by Hindāl M., Qarācha Khān, Hājī Muḥammad Khān from among Humāyūn's officers and Aḥmad Bēg and Tughān Bēg from among the Īrānīs who had arrived with the Shāh's envoy to congratulate the king on his capture of Kabul, continued the contest by attacking the two flanks of the enemy till further help came and they finished the battle with a victory. Humāyūn, as a reward for the arduous exertions on the part of his soldiery, allowed them to retain the plunder obtained from the enemy's camp.³ Sulaimān fled to Khōst via Nārin and Īshkāmish. Important local chiefs now joined the king e.g., Tulak of Taliqān, Muḥammad Mirzā Bēg Barlās, the chief of Ghōr⁴ and Wais Sultān, 'a scion of the kings of Mughalistān.' From Khōst Sulaimān M., was allowed to escape to Badakhshān but his

¹ Most of the writers give this name to the battlefield, only *T. Sh.* calls it Girān, *T. A.* Shutar-girān, and *T. Kb. T.* Har-girān.

² *I. N.* says that their horses were killed and they had to continue the fight on foot.

³ *B. B. T. H. B.* The author mentions his share of the booty.

⁴ He had fought valiantly for Sulaimān and now when the Mirzā was defeated came over to Humāyūn.

men were pursued by the Mughals. Thus driven to the wall, most of the Badakhshīs submitted. The king moved slowly on to Khōst and Varsak and since Sulaimān had fled away beyond the Oxus to Central Asia, stopped for several days in the latter district whiling away his time with trivial occupations like angling and catching waterfowl. Humāyūn next passed on Kalāōgām and Kishm. At the latter place he stayed for three months, i.e., till the end of October, 1546.¹ As Sulaimān M., had been completely discomfited, the king annexed his territories, viz., Badakhshān, Qunduz, Khōst and Andarāb and distributed them among his own officers, giving the whole of Qunduz to Hindāl and Khōst to Mun'im Khān. He next desired to pacify the newly conquered people and so planned to stay in Badakhshān for sometime and to pass the winter in the warmer regions of Qal'a-i-Zafar, the head-quarters of Badakhshān. To his misfortune, he fell ill on the 21st *Ramṣān*, 953 A.H. (15th November, 1546)² on his way, at Shākh-dān,³ and remained tied to the place for full two months. The illness caused disaffection everywhere. Sulaimān's partisans raised their heads; Hindāl M., moved out of his *jāgīr* in order to fish in the troublous waters; Bāpūs Bēg was rebellious; and even the prisoner, 'Askarī M., was an object of suspicion to Humāyūn's nobles. The last, however, was overcome by Qarācha Khān who kept him a captive in his own tent.⁴ At this time of unrest, the hare-

¹ *Jauhar.*, and B. B. T. H. B.

² *T. S. Ch.*

³ According to *Jauhar*, Shākh-dān is situated four *cōs* from Kishm. *Far.* says that Humāyūn fell ill on his way to Taliqān, which according to R. T. is in the neighbourhood of Kishm. B. B. T. H. B. names the place Tatak.

⁴ *T. Sh.*, 315 wrongly says that Qarācha Khān incited 'Askarī to oppose the king.

brained Khwāja Mu‘azzam killed Sultān Muḥammad Rashīd, an Īrānī Shī‘a, who had accompanied the king from Īrān and held the office of *wazīr* or *dīwān* at the time of his murder. Khwāja Mu‘azzam in his foolishness fled to Kabul hoping to collect a number of followers round him but Muḥammad ‘Alī Taghāī, Humāyūn’s deputy and governor of Kabul, seized the Khwāja and his companions and threw them into prison.

The king had fallen seriously ill¹ at Shākhḍān. On the fifth day of his illness, some improvement was noticed under the loving care of his wife, Māh-chuchak Bēgam,² and of Maulānā Bayazīd,³ and the news of the king’s welfare was sent to Kabul.⁴ After two months,⁵ he was removed to Qal‘a-i-Zafar⁶ where he completely recovered and with his recovery some disaffections also came to an end, e.g., Hindāl went back to his *jāgīr*. The recovery was celebrated by feasts and distribution of fiefs.

Probably Humāyūn’s next intentions were to cross the Amū and conduct an expedition into the heart of Tūrān or Central Asia; for Abul Faḥl states that ‘the dread residence of His Majesty (Humāyūn) in Badakhshān wrought dismay in all Tūrān. The Uzbeks gathered together and were full of apprehension and could find no suitable remedy for their fears.’ But the expedition did not come off, as the king had to turn his attention to Kāmrān who had again fallen upon Kabul and occupied it.

¹ G. H. N. says that he slept day and night meaning that he was insensible. *Kb. T.* says he was insensible for several days.

² *Jauhar*.

³ A noted physician and scholar of his time. He was for some time tutor to Akbar.

⁴ Another object of sending the news was to request the officials of Kabul to get ready for another expedition.

⁵ *T. Sh.* and *Far*.

⁶ Named by R. T. Qal‘a-i-zafarābād.

To conclude, Humāyūn, by defeating Kāmrān and Sulaimān, had once more united the three provinces of Qandahār, Kabul and Badakhshān. The success, though momentary, was so signal that the Uzbeks supposed him next to launch an attack in their direction with a view to wresting from them the ancestral territories of the Mughals.

CHAPTER XII

LOSS OF KABUL AND ITS RECOVERY BY HUMĀYŪN, 1546-7. HIS EXPEDITION TO BADA_{KH}SHĀN AND KĀMRĀN'S SUBMISSION, (AUGUST, 1548)

Humāyūn lay sick at Shākh_hdān. When, on the fifth day he somewhat rallied, he sent word of his welfare to Muḥammad 'Alī Taghāi, his deputy in Kabul, with a view to falsifying the wild rumours that threw doubts on his existence and also to warn him against unexpected mischief from a hostile quarter.¹ We have seen that in Badakhshān disorders had set in and the king rightly surmised that a similar misfortune might befall Kabul. And actually this happened as Kāmrān who had been lurking in Sind, saw his chance of regaining supremacy while Humāyūn lay ill in the distant north.

Let us recapitulate some of the Mirzā's activities after his surrender of Kabul in November 1545. While the king was negotiating for his submission and made more than one effort, first through Kāmrān's own agents, the two Khwājas, and afterwards through Roshan Īshak Bēg, Kāmrān fled away to Ghaznī but finding no refuge there took shelter with Khizr Khān Hazāra in Zamīndāwar. Humāyūn now gave Ghaznī to Hindāl M., in *jāgīr* and

¹ G. H. N., fol. 66*b* quotes a sentence from his letter, 'Go, comfort and reassure the people of Kabul. Set them at ease in various ways. Let them not quarrel. Say: "It began ill but has ended well."'

Zamīndāwar to Ulugh M. He further asked Bairām Khān to send Yādgār Nāṣir M., who had arrived at Qandahār, in aid of Ulugh M. The combination of the three Mirzās terrified the Hazāras and they dispersed into their wilds so that Kāmrān M., left alone, withdrew to Sind and took shelter with Mirzā Shāh Husain Arghūn. There Kāmrān, who had already been betrothed, was now married to the Arghūn's daughter. While staying there, Kāmrān heard of his brother's illness and the commotions that it had given rise to. So he formed new hopes and relying on the support of his father-in-law, the ruler of Sind, started for an attack on Kabul. Leaving Qandahār alone, as it was governed by the redoubtable Bairām Khān, he with his Sindī troops passed on to Qilāt. Near it he fell in with some Afghān merchants who had some horses for sale. Unlike Humāyūn, Kāmrān forcibly took them from the merchants and then passed on to Tīrī where he captured and blinded Mīr Sayyid.¹ On his way to Ghaznī he secured horses from another caravan of merchants, gave to each of his followers an additional horse² and then with great rapidity reached Ghaznī where he was drawn up the fort by the butchers of the city. Ghaznī had belonged to Hindāl M., but as the Mirzā was expected to be in Qunduz, another *jāgīr* belonging to him³, he had left Zāhid Bēg⁴ as its governor. Zāhid had never been a good administrator and besides was strongly addicted to wine. So when Kāmrān arrived one night, he found the defences of the fort neg-

¹ *Jaubar*.

² *T. Kb. T.*

³ Granted by Humāyūn after his Badakhshān campaign in October, 1546.

⁴ He was Humāyūn's brother-in-law, and Bēga Bēgam's sister's husband.

lected and Zāhid lying senseless in his bed. So he was easily captured, and was brought to the Mīrzā in the inebriate state and was put to death or as A. Faẓl expresses, 'the wretches cast him in his drunkenness from the pinnacle of life into the abyss of annihilation.' Kāmṛān left at Ghaznī his son-in-law, Daulat Sulṭān, and a number of Sindī troops to support him and then again rapidly passed on to Kabul where he arrived at dawn. He entered the fort along with the water-carriers and grass-cutters that passed in and out at this time of the day. Next he surprised Muḥammad 'Alī Taghāi, the king's deputy in his bath¹ and cruelly tore him to pieces.² Neither Muḥammad 'Alī nor his coadjutor Faẓail Bēg, Mun'im Khān's brother, had the wisdom or the courage to withstand Kāmṛān. The Mīrzā next went towards the palace. The *ḥaram* was deserted by Naukāṛ, who fled away in a woman's dress but was captured by Kāmṛān and put into prison. The *ḥaram* was completely ransacked, the ladies were imprisoned³ and 'they got food and water from over the four walls.' His own women got the quarters that housed till lately the royal *ḥaram*. Kāmṛān 'behaved very ill indeed to the wives and families of the officers who had left him for the Emperor, ransacking and plundering all their houses and putting each family into somebody's custody.'⁴ He blinded Faẓail Bēg, Mihtar Wāṣil and Mihtar Wakīla⁵ because the first had opposed him and the last two had brought the news about the king to Kabul and punished Isāmuddīn 'Alī, Mīr Khālīfā's son, for opposing him in Zamīndāwar,

¹ G. H. N., 67a.

² R. T.

³ *Bad.*, 450 and *M. A.* state that the Mīrzā placed guards on quarters of the Bēgams and prince Akbar.

⁴ G. H. N.

⁵ Or Wakīl as put down by *I. N.* and *T. Sb.*

during his flight¹ with, first, castration and then cruel death. Chōlī Bahādur, a loyal servant of the king, was also put to death, and Khwāja Mu'a^zzam, Bahādur Khhān, Atka Khhān and Nadīm Kōka and many others were thrown into prison. This senseless behaviour of the Mirzā was in a marked contrast to Humāyūn's solicitude for the welfare of the citizens. Having secured Kabul,² the Mirzā next proceeded to seduce the king's followers. Shēr Afgan who had been lately rewarded with extensive *jāgīrs* in Kahmard, Zuhāk and Bāmiān and had been promised the whole of Ghōrband in the near future, now for no cause that we know of, went over to Kāmran and several others followed his example.

Humāyūn all this time was resting in Qal'a-i-Zafar and had recovered by the time Kāmran had consolidated his position in Kabul. So he resolved to return and make an effort to recover his losses. The Badakhshān commotion during his illness had convinced him of the loyalty of the people to Sulaimān M. and since he was certain of losing it as soon as he would return to Kabul, he made a virtue of his necessity, sent for Sulaimān M., pardoned his past misdoings and restored him his ancestral territories in Badakhshān and as a check on him made large additions to Hindāl Mirzā's *jāgīrs* in Qunduz.³ Thus Khhōst was taken away from Mun'im Khhān and Kahmard, the forfeited *jāgīr* of the deserter, Shēr Afgan, and also Andarāb and Ghōrī were all granted to Hindāl M.

¹ I. N.

² B. B. T. H. B. wrongly assigns 955 A. H. to Kāmran's capture of Kabul. It should be 953.

³ *Bad.* on 450 wrongly states that Badakhshān was taken away from Hindāl M. and returned to Sulaimān M.

The king had started from Qal‘a-i-Zāfar by the 20th of January, 1547 and had hoped to cross the Hindū Kush by the defile of Ābdara, the only one that remains open in the winter. But before he reached there, he found the cold too severe for his delicate health and so stopped for a week or so at Tālīqān¹ and then went to Qunduz where he stayed with Hindāl M. for a week and celebrated the ‘*Id-i-Qurbān*’ on February 1, 1547 and passing through the Khāwak and Regak passes² and Ābdara defile³ and the province of Ghōrband reached Chārīkār⁴ and Zimma.⁵ The successful journey does not seem to have helped the king very much; for almost immediately after, two of his relations, Iskandar Sultān and Mīrzā Sanjar Barlās, son of Sultān Jaunaid Barlās, deserted to Kāmran M. The only piece of good luck he had was the arrival of Khizr Khwāja Khān, the husband of Gulbadan Bēgam, who had exhorted him to join the king.⁶ The king reached Māmā Khātūn and Urtā Chālāk in the neighbourhood of Kabul. The continued desertions disheartened the king and he was at first inclined to agree with those of his nobles who had proposed to leave Kabul alone and pass on to Buri⁷ and Khwāja Pushta in the west and south of the city. But then he feared that the move

¹ A. N. and B. B. T. H. B.

² The last has been called Kōtal-i-Rēg by B. B. T. H. B. It also indicates its situation by saying that it is above Chārīkār.

³ *Janbar* mentions also Chahārdara pass and also describes the rigours of the journey. I. N. states that Shēr ‘Alī had opposed the king at Ābdara pass and then fled away.

⁴ Spelt differently by different writers, e.g., *Janbar* Chahār-karwān B. B. T. H. B. Chārīk-kār, I. N. Chārīkārān, and T. Kb. T. Chaharik-Kārān.

⁵ Situated 15 miles north of Kabul.

⁶ G. H. N., 68a.

⁷ Situated 6 miles west of Kabul.

would be interpreted as a march to Qandahār and hence those of Humāyūn's followers who had their families in Kabul would be alarmed and leave him for Kāmran. So he changed his mind¹ and resolved upon a direct attack on the fort itself. The first skirmish took place at Dih-i-Afghānān² between Hindāl M., and Shēr Afgan, the new ally of Kāmran³ M. The fiercely contested battle ended with the defeat and capture of Shēr Afgan. The king, as usual, desired to grant the captive his life but his nobles, especially Qarācha Khān who was displeased with him,⁴ insisted on his death and so the king yielded and he was put to death.⁵ The king next occupied the city and Shēr 'Ali,⁶ now Kāmran's chief commander, retired to the citadel.

Humāyūn's next step was to besiege the citadel called Bālā Hīṣār and apportion stations among his nobles.⁷ Fierce skirmishes became almost an everyday affair. One particular incident may be related to illustrate the nature of the rival leaders. One day Kāmran M. heard of the approach of a large caravan of merchants with some five hundred horses at Chārikār about 33 miles to the north.

¹ According to *Jauhar* by seeing the ring of halo round the sun, Humāyūn concluded that he would win in the near future.

² *G. II. N.*, 69a. *A. N.* calls it Bābā Shashpūr, *B. B. T. H. B.* Bābā Shēr. *I. N.* says that the tomb of the Bābā is in the neighbourhood of Dih. *Far.*, 238 mentions that the first battle took place near Zuhāk when Kāmran's soldiery were scattered.

³ *B. B. T. H. B.* states that Shēr Afgan was in his bath when he heard of the king's approach. He came out immediately and got ready for battle.

⁴ *B. B. T. H. B.*

⁵ According to *Jauhar*, Shēr Afgan's followers were pardoned at Hindāl Mirzā's intercession.

⁶ *Far.* calls him Mirzā and *T. Sb.* Kāmran's kotwal.

⁷ *B. B. T. H. B.* states that the siege was incomplete for lack of enough soldiers.

He at once decided to possess himself of their goods and sent Shēr 'Alī against his judgment. Shēr 'Alī secured the plunder¹ but found his return to the citadel blocked by the royal troops. The Mirzā made unsuccessful attempts to send him reinforcements and at last Shēr 'Alī unable to reach Kabul fled southwards to the Hazāras. The plunder was recovered by the king's men and 'whatever goods and horses they recognized.. were restored to their owners'. A large number of prisoners were publicly executed in order to strike terror into the hearts of the opposers and thus to induce them to submission.

Kāmrān M. was driven to a sore plight and was hemmed in from all sides. But he had no intention to yield and as a counterpoise to Humāyūn's cruel measures 'set himself to punish sheltered striplings and innocent children and to defile pure-skirted ones (women), for example he dishonoured Bāpūs Bēg's wife and cruelly tortured to death his three young children, suspended Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Maujī's wife by the breasts and hung upon the battlement the sons of Qarācha Khān² and Muṣāḥib Bēg, two of the influential nobles of Kabul, who were at the present moment with the king. It is to the credit of the nobles that the senseless cruelties had no effect on their loyalty nor did they slacken the siege operations.

¹ B. B. T. H. B. denies the statement.

² See *Jauhar* for interesting details, e.g., Humāyūn went to Qarācha Khān's house and the Khān placed his turban at his master's feet. The king took it up and tied it again on the Khān's head. When Qarācha reported Kāmrān's threat of killing the Khān's son, the king said that he himself was the Khān's son etc. I. N. says that at this time Qarācha Khān acted as Humāyūn's *Wakīl-i-mutlaq*. Far. and T. Sb. state that Qarācha Khān threatened Kāmrān M. that if his son, Sardār Khān, was killed, Kāmrān and 'Askarī would forfeit their lives.

When Kāmṛān noticed how ineffectual had been his late cruelties he went on, more determinedly, with further equally insensate acts. Seeing no other way to prevent Humāyūn from an active pursuit of the siege, he placed prince Akbar on the rampart of the citadel in front of the guns 'where it was difficult, on account of the marksmen of the victorious army, for an ant or a grass-hopper to pass.' Abul Faḡl is severe in his condemnation of Kāmṛān M. and says, 'What humanity was this or what beast of prey or demon has such principles? Why did the tongue of him who gave such an order not grow dumb and the arm of him who executed it not refuse its office when it encompassed that tree of fortune (Akbar) and planted it for such a purpose?' The royal artillery placed at 'Uqābain, a neighbouring hill that overlooked the citadel, under the direction of the gunner, Sumbul Khān, slackened its fire.¹ Kāmṛān M. also for shame seems to have desisted from further exposure of his nephew. For the remaining period of the siege, 'for the sake of his wives and children and the bēgams and the household etc., the Emperor (Humāyūn) did not have the cannon fired.'²

With the arrival of Ulugh Khān from Zamīndāwar, Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān Shaibānī³ from Qilāt, Shāh Qulī

¹ *A. N.* and *I. N.* account for Akbar's escape to the miracle of 'fires displaying coldness and flintlock not becoming alight'. *G. H. N.*, 69*b* and *Jauhar* state that Humāyūn had forbidden the guns to be fired. *G. H. N.* further states that as a protection against the fire of Kāmṛān's guns, the king had placed 'Askarī in front. *Kb. T.* makes out that though the firing continued, no harm was done to Akbar.

² *G. H. N.*, 69*b*. According to it, the king used to say that 'if he had used force against the citadel, Mirzā Muḥammad Akbar would have disappeared (ceased to live)' *Bad.*, 450 *T. Sh.*, 318, and *M. A.* state that Kāmṛān M. had on several occasions exposed Akbar and that Māham *Anaga* shielded him by interposing her own person.

³ He has been called Nuwāb or Deputy.

Sultān from Qandahār, Khwāja Ghāzi from Irān and many others from Badakhshān,¹ the royal besieging force was strengthened by 1000 men and the besieging ring was now completed.² So Kāmrān M. changed his tactics and instead of brazen-faced opposition took to 'fawning and feline hypocrisy' and was willing to beseech the king for a forgiveness of his sins and, to be certain, the forgiveness would have been forthcoming. But loyalty was at discount in the royal camp and Hindāl M., Qarācha Khān and Muṣāhib Bēg 'from regard to their own interests did not wish the Mirzā to make his submission.'³ So they sent a message to Kāmrān M. to escape from the fort at once. The advice was accepted and the Mirzā escaped by a pre-arranged route⁴ and carried 'Askarī with him.'⁵ He left the citadel on Thursday, the seventh of *Rabī'ul-awwal*, 954 A.H. (April 27, 1547),⁶ and fled towards Badakhshān, hoping to obtain aid from Sulaimān M. and, failing it, to take shelter with the Uzbeks. The king entered the citadel⁷ the next day and seems to have counteracted the evil effect of Kāmrān's cruelties by applying

¹ *Far.* adds the name of Sulaimān M. also and says that Qarācha Khān and Bāpūs Bēg fled from Kabul and joined the king. Neither statement is correct.

² B. B. T. H. B.

³ Their interest lay in keeping alive strife and distraction, for so long as these existed, organization of administration or control of the nobility was out of the question. A. Fazl condemns the Tūrānīs for their turbulent nature.

⁴ B. B. T. H. B. states that out of pity for his brother, Hindāl M. allowed him to escape.

⁵ L. T.

⁶ *Jauhar* says that the siege lasted for three months. On the night of the occupation Humāyūn permitted his followers to plunder the city, but the next morning declared plundering to be a crime. The date is given by A. N. and I. N.

⁷ According to I. N. it had so long been 'the abode of the satanic people.'

‘balm to the wounded hearts of mankind which were bleeding from the oppression (of Kāmrān).’ One of the king’s earliest measures was to release the ladies imprisoned so long in the palace and to make them comfortable. He sent for their use ‘nine sheep, seven flasks of rose-water, one of lemonade, seven sets of dress lengths and some made-up jackets and wrote to them “for their sakes I could not use force against the citadel.”’¹ Humāyūn had set Hindāl M. and Hājī Muḥammad Kōkī in pursuit of Kāmrān M. and they actually came up with the Mirzā seated on a man’s shoulders and trying to escape but Hindāl M. out of compassion for his brother allowed him to get away and helped him with a horse for the purpose.² Thus the arch-mischief-maker escaped though some of his followers were captured and executed under the king’s orders.

Kāmrān M. first went to Istālif³ and then escaped to Badakhshān by Sanjad Dara and Zuhāk. At the latter place, Mirzā Bēg and Shēr ‘Alī joined him.’ With their help he occupied the Ghōrī district. This proved a veritable boon to him for now he obtained money to collect an army. He left Shēr ‘Alī there and went forward to Badakhshān hoping that Sulaimān M. and his son, Ibrāhīm, would support his cause. But the latter grateful to the king for the restoration of his heritage gave no ear to Kāmrān’s appeal and the fugitive was now obliged to

¹ For a fuller description of Humāyūn’s meeting with his women-folk see *G. H. N.*, 70b and 71a.

² *Jauhar*. *Bad.*, 450, *T. Sb.*, 230, and *T. Kb.* T. blame the Hājī for Kāmrān’s escape.

³ *Far.* and *T. Kb.* T. state that while in Kōh-i-Dāman, the Hazāras plundered Kāmrān’s goods so much so that the very clothes that he was wearing were taken away; when they learnt who he was, they helped him to reach Shēr ‘Alī’s camp in Ghōrband.

fall upon his last resources viz., to repair to Pīr Muḥammad Khān, the Uzbek chief of Balkh, and with his help to occupy Badakhshān and possibly Kabul also later on. He reached Aibak,¹ where the governor at first detained him but under instructions from his chief, sent him on to Balkh. Pīr Muḥammad Khān treated him with marked attention, settled that after the Mirzā's capture of Kabul Badakhshān would be given to the Uzbeks, accompanied him with an Uzbek army and occupied most of Badakhshān. Sulaimān Mirzā's one effort at Rūshtāq² ended in his defeat and he had to withdraw himself to the hills or the defiles. Next Kāmrān M. besieged Hindāl M. in Qunduz but in gratitude for his aid in his flight, asked him to come out of the fort, promising with his aid to fall upon his allies, the Uzbeks. Unfortunately, Kāmrān Mirzā's letter fell into the hands of his allies who getting alarmed, hastened to their homes and left Kāmrān M. to his fate. The Mirzā returned to Tāliqān, content for the present with the acquisition of Badakhshān.

For the king, the Mirzā's flight to the Uzbeks, the hereditary foes of the Chaghatai Turks, boded ill and so he sent Hindāl M. and Qarācha Khān to organize defensive measures in concert with Sulaimān M. against the impending Uzbek invasion. Qarācha Khān went via Ghōri, drove away Shēr 'Alī and occupied the district. But he was overawed by the news of the arrival of the Uzbek chief and Kāmrān M. in Badakhshān; so instead of proceeding to the north or north-east, he retraced his steps to Kabul.

¹ written in some maps as Haibak and situated 80 miles south-east of Balkh.

² situated on the tributary of Kōkcha, 35 miles north-west of Kishm.

Humāyūn now realized that he should lose no time in leading personally an expedition to the north; for not only was Qarācha Khān's army returning but Sulaimān M. and his son with their scanty resources had given up the fight in the open and had retreated to the defiles of the mountains. So hastily getting ready, he began his march and met Qarācha Khān in Ghōrband.¹ But the latter, deprived of his belongings by the Aimāqs, was ill-fitted for a journey and so he was allowed to proceed to Kabul and return as quickly as possible. The king in the meantime reached Gulbahār and waited there for Qarācha Khān's return. This he did so late in the season that the passes of the Hindu Kush were closed and for the present Humāyūn had to return to Kabul.

At Kabul he found that he could not be ready for his expedition at once because Qarācha Khān, who, as the king's *wakīl*, had faithfully served him during his illness, now had grown haughty and arrogant and was creating trouble over trifles. One occasion may be related. The Mughal chief had as his Dīwān, one Khwāja Ghāzī of Tabrīz. The Khwāja had originally been in Kāmran Mirzā's service but when the king departed from Lahore for Sind, he transferred his services to the king. While travelling in Īrān with his master, for a time he had been disgraced on the charge of stealing royal jewellery but on return from Īrān was again restored to favour. His abilities brought him further distinctions and at the present moment he was finding money as the king's Dīwān, for the various expenses of the king. Qarācha Khān was offended with this man, his reason being that he had ordered the Khwāja to pay ten *tumāns* from the state-

¹ Situated 40 miles north of Kabul.

treasury on the Khān's behalf and this order the Khawaja had refused to honour on the ground of its irregularity.¹ The Khān who despised the Khawaja for his lowly occupations in the past was furious and insisted that the king should send him bound in order that the Khān might have the satisfaction of putting him to death.² As Humāyūn, in justice to the Khawaja refused to agree to the nobleman's proposal, the Khān took his revenge by himself flying to Badakhshān which by now had fallen into Kāmran Mirzā's hands³ and also by persuading a number of other influential nobles to join him in the flight. Bāpūs Bēg, Muṣāhib Bēg, Isma'il Bēg Döldāi, 'Alī Qulī of Andarāb, Haidar Dōst Mughal etc., with nearly 3000 followers and a park of artillery followed him to the north.⁴

In order to prevent the meeting of the fugitive nobles with Kāmran M., Humāyūn should have made a move at once. But he, in accordance with the practice of the mediaeval times, had to wait for the auspicious hour. In the meantime he continued to send in advance his nobles, Tardī Bēg, Mun'im Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Barlās etc., and when the auspicious hour arrived he himself started. Some of the royal troops came up with Qarācha Khān on the Ghōrband river at sunset⁵ and in the darkness

¹ *Jauhar* says that Qarācha Khān had obtained the king's sanction but the Khawaja was unwilling to meet such demands at a time when all his resources were reserved to meet the expenses of the king's expeditions.

² The Khān had suggested that after the Khawaja's death, Khawaja Qāsim Tūla should be appointed Dīwān. Khawaja Ghāzī was later on found remiss in his duties and was dismissed from his office. See *A. N.*, 286.

³ *Kb. T.*

⁴ *B. B. T. H. B.* gives a different colour to the flight and says that Bāpūs Bēg had proposed to bring Kāmran M. a captive to the king. If so the plan never matured.

⁵ *Jauhar* states differently, that Humāyūn fought a battle with the

that followed the enemy escaped. The troops fell back to join the king, who himself returned to Kabul to make more extensive preparations before venturing into the north.¹ He rather childishly vented his spleen against Qarācha Khān and others by assigning to each of them an abusive epithet, e.g., Qarācha Khān was nicknamed 'Qarā Bakht,' Isma'il, 'Khirs' (bear) Muṣāhib Bēg, 'Munāfiq,' Bāpūs Bēg, 'Daiyus'. Next he sent word to Hindāl M., Sulaimān M. and Ibrāhim M. to get ready as he would arrive soon. Then against the advice of the craven-hearted among his followers for a retreat to Qandahār, he resolved on the advice of Muḥammad Sultān M. to proceed to Badakhshān and on Monday, the 5th *Jumād-al-awwal* 955 A.H. (June 12, 1548) he moved out of Kabul² and encamped in the meadow of Chālāk, one *cōs* from Kabul.³ At the next halt at Qarā Bāgh he stayed for twelve days in order to let his nobles, Hājī Muḥammad Kōkī and Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān, join him. Ibrāhim M.⁴ also joined him after killing Kāmrān Mirzā's henchman, Tamar 'Alī Shighālī in Panjshīr.⁵ He next went to Chārīkār and Gulbahār from where he sent Ḥamīda Bānū Bēgam and Akbar under the escort of Muḥammad Qāsim Maujī

Khān at Ushtar Girām near Pāi Minār pass and defeated him.

¹ According to *B. B. T. H. B.* Humāyūn's stay in Kabul lasted a month.

² Humāyūn's stay in Kabul was fourteen months from the 7th *Rabī'ul-awwal* to the 5th *Jumād-al-awwal*. *G. H. N.* makes it one year and a half.

³ *Jauhar* and *I. N.* here state how the king got another omen of victory from a bird that sat on his shoulder.

⁴ Called Nuwāb Mirzā by *B. B. T. H. B.*

⁵ An illustration is given here of Humāyūn's tact. Ibrāhīm M. and Malik 'Alī of Panjshīr, both devoted to him had quarrelled with each other. The king soothed the ruffled heart of the Malik by praising his hereditary loyalty and by the prospects of royal favour. He also honoured Ibrāhīm by calling him his son.

to Kabul, the latter acting as the king's deputy in his absence. Next he reached Bāzarak in Panjshīr and feeling that his own journey was too slow sent Hājī Muḥammad Kōki, Bābā Qashqa, Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān, Tardī Beg and others in advance. The party went to Andarāb and thence to Khōst and occupied both the provinces. He followed at leisure and at Andarāb met Hindāl M.¹ who had brought Kāmran's henchman, Sher 'Alī a prisoner. The king who had been strict lately, now regained his benevolent disposition and excused his offence, gave him a robe of honour and appointed him governor of Ghōrī. Hindāl M. was ordered to join Hājī Muḥammad's advance party and act as its commander.

The king himself reached the Qāzī's Meadow in Andarāb, in the middle of *Jumādā-Ākhir*, 955 A.H. (May 22 1548) receiving homage from a large number of Tūqbāi, Sālqānchī, Balūchī and Aimāq tribes and then passed on to Tālīqān. A battle took place between Kāmran Mirzā's men led by the Mirzā himself and the King's army at Khalsān². The battle though hotly contested³ went against the Mirzā, who fled to the Tālīqān fort. The plunder obtained by the soldiery was, by the king's order, retained by them. The fort was next besieged. In order to overawe the hostile troops, he was executing most of his captives.⁴ When he had killed a considerable number, he felt a remorse and so in order to spare the lives of his own men and those of his enemy, wrote a letter appealing to

¹ *Jauhar* says that the king did not allow him to alight from his horse as a subject ought to do when meeting the king. *Kb. T.* states that the meeting took place at Ishkāmish.

² *G. H. N.* calls it the battle of Tālīqān.

³ At first Hindāl M. was defeated but the king's arrival changed the defeat into the victory.

⁴ *Jauhar*.

his brother to desist from opposition. A sentence may be quoted, 'O evil brother and beloved war-seeker, refrain from causes which are productive of conflict and cause the affliction and destruction of countless men. Have compassion on the men of the city and of the army.' The appeal had no effect on the Mirzā, his only reply being:

Who'd to his bosom strain dominion's bride
Must kiss the gleaming falchion's lip.¹

Now the siege operations were pressed in earnest the king getting further reinforcement with the arrival of Sulaimān M., and Chākar Khān, the powerful nobleman of Kūlāb. The siege lasted one month² and the Mirzā who had been hoping for aid from the Uzbek chief of Balkh at last lost all hope³ and prepared himself for submission to the king by attaching supplicatory letters to arrows and shooting them into the royal camp.⁴ The ever-benign Humāyūn consented to an agreement⁵ according to which Kāmran M. would submit in person by reading the *khutba* in his brother's name and accompanied by Bāpūs Bēg, depart for Hijāz. However galling, the terms were accepted by the Mirzā and on Friday, the twelfth of *Rajab*, 955 A.H. (August 12, 1548) the *khutba* was read in Humāyūn's name in the presence of the king's *Ṣadr*, 'Abdul Bāqī. In

¹ The couplet, originally written by Shaibānī Khān to Shāh Isma'īl, is

عروس ملک کسے در کنار گہر چست - کہ ہوسہ بر لب شمشیر آبدار دشت

² According to *Jauhar*, the siege lasted for two months.

³ B. B. T. H. B. says that Pīr Muḥammad Khān's councillors forbade him from helping the Mirzā so long as the two brothers were fighting and thus weakening each other.

⁴ A. N. and I. N.

⁵ *Far.*, S. S. and L. T. state that Kāmran approached Humāyūn by Sulaimān M. but most other writers mention the name of Mullā 'Arab in this connection.

the evening, Qarācha Khān was brought in with a sword tied to his neck and Muṣāḥib Bēg with a quiver and a sword round his neck. Both were forgiven and so were the less important deserters.¹ Such acts of generosity in the midst of strife and excitement speak volumes in favour of Humāyūn the man, if not of Humāyūn the king.² Kāmrān M., accompanied by 'Askarī M., went about forty miles with a view to departing for Macca³ but then he changed his mind and decided to submit to his brother.

The Mirzā did homage to the king who had moved at Iskāmish⁴ on the seventeenth of *Rajab*, 955 A.H. and so the clause in the agreement that referred to Kāmrān Mirzā's departure to Macca was ignored. In order to welcome the Mirzā, the king sent to him his nobles in three batches: in the first were Mun'im Khān, Tardī Bēg and a host of others; in the second were the nobles connected with the royalty, e.g., Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān Shaibānī, Khizr Khwāja Sultān, Iskandar Sultān etc.; in the third were Hindāl M., 'Askarī M., whom he had released for the purpose, and Muḥammad Sulaimān M.⁵ The actual meeting⁶ provided a moving scene, for they both shed copious tears. The Mirzā was given a seat by the side of the king and so

¹ Most of the writers relate here an anecdote illustrating the king's magnanimity of soul. One of Ibrāhīm Mirzā's retainers had taken by force a horse that had originally belonged to him but had been stolen away by one of Kāmrān Mirzā's retainers. Humāyūn rebuked Ibrāhīm M. for his want of respect to the Mirzā and Ibrāhīm as a result left the king's camp.

² Kāmrān had felt surprised at his brother's generosity and had confessed that in the king's place he would not have been so magnanimous.

³ S. S. and L. T.

⁴ According to G. H. N. the meeting took place at Kishm.

⁵ B. B. T. H. B. gives a very full description.

⁶ Which according to Kb. T. took place after nine years. It may have been a slightly less period.

were the other Mirzās and in honour of the occasion a great festivity was held, musical entertainments were provided, and fruits and delicious dishes were served. At the end of the ceremony the king showed further magnanimity by making over 'Askarī M., to Kāmṛān M.¹ and as the latter, in his haste, had neglected to provide himself with suitable tents etc., royal tents were set for his use near the king's residence. After three days' halt the party marched to Chashma-i-Ashk² and stayed there for a week.

Having cemented, as he thought, the bond of unity among all the Mirzās, he decided to avail himself of this opportunity by proposing a campaign against the Uzbeks of Balkh and so distributed the *iāgīrs* in the following manner:—

Kāmṛān M. ³	..	Obtained Kūlāb or Khaltān.
'Askarī M.	..	„ Karātigīn.
Sulaimān M. }	..	„ { Qal'a-Zafar and
Ibrāhīm M. }		
Hindāl M. ..	..	„ Qunduz, Ghōrī, Kahmard, Baqlān, Ishkāmish and Narīn. ⁴

He now decided to return to Kabul and make preparations for the proposed campaign. So a final meeting was held in which the Mirzās once more swore fealty to the king and they all drank *sharbat* from the same cup as a token of sincerity.⁵ Humāyūn returned through Khōst to

¹ Both were born of the same mother.

² I. N. calls it Chashma-i-Bandkushā and locates it near Ishkāmish.

³ Kāmṛān at first had desired to proceed to Macca (see *Bad.*, 451) and when Kūlāb was granted was dissatisfied with the smallness of the *jāgīr*.

⁴ G. H. N. has a slightly different allotment.

⁵ G. H. N. gives interesting details on fol. 72a and b.

Pariān where he punished the infidel Siāhpōshes for their habitual highway-robbery and thence to Ushtar Girām and entered Kabul on the second of *Ramẓān*, 955 A.H. (October 5).¹

According to *Farishta*, the king wrote on the margin of his letter, that announced his victory to Bairam Khān in Qandahār, a number of couplets, four of which may be quoted here:

روز نوروز خرم ست امروز	دل احباب منعم ست امروز
.....
کہ جمال حبیب کے بینم	گل ز باغ وصال کے چینم
گوش خرم شود ز گفتارت	دیدہ روشن شود ز دیدارت
.....
بعد ازان فکر کار ہند کنم	عزم تسخیر ملک سند کنم

“O Bairam this day is as blessed as Nauroz²
The hearts of the friends are full of happiness.

... ..
When shall I see (once more) the bright face of my
beloved (Bairam Khān)

And (when) shall I pick up a flower of union;³
That my ears might rejoice to listen thy speech
And my eyes be illumined with thy sight?

... ..
Afterwards I may deliberate on the affairs of Hind,
And may form resolution to capture the province of
Sind.”⁴

¹ According to *B. B. T. II. B.* Humāyūn entered Kabul in the month of *Tīr*, 955 A. H.

² The *Īrānī* New Year's day when great festivals were held in the *Īrānī* and the Mughal courts.

³ Meaning 'when shall I unite with Bairam, my friend?

⁴ The full text may be seen in *Far.*, 239. In 1548 Humāyūn was thinking of invading India through Sind; for the strong rule of Islām Shah did not allow him to think of an invasion of the Punjab.

The king was not satisfied with the couplets only and so added the following quatrain:

ای آنکه انیس خاطر مکزونی چون طبع لطیف خویشتن موزونی
بے یاد تو نیستم زمانی هرگز آیا تو بیاد من مکزون چونی

“O Thou ! who art a companion of the bereaved heart,
And poetical like the aesthetic-natured writer,
I am never long without a remembrance of thee;
(May I know) whether thou art afflicted in remembrance of me?”

Bairam wrote an equally elegant and flattering reply:

ای آنکه بذات سایه بیچونی از هرچه ترا وصف کنم افزونی
چون میدانی که بے تو چون میگذرد چون می‌پرسی که در فراقم چونی

“O Thou ! That art in essence the shadow of God
And exceedeth all that I may repeat in thy praise,
When thou knowest (well) how (miserable) I am
without thee,
Why asketh thou how I fare in thy separation?”

It is a unique illustration of the mutual regard of the king and the Shī‘a nobleman.

Before closing, we would refer to one or two noticeable traits in Humāyūn’s character and policy as evident from this chapter. First, though Humāyūn had been the leader of the Mughals and head of the Tīmūrids for the last eighteen years, and had passed through many ups and downs in life, he still retained a magnanimity of character and loftiness of spirit that refused to be mean or even harsh to his enemies. We have seen above that many of his nobles and almost all his three brothers deserved punishment—even capital punishment, at one stage or another. If he had been a relentless leader, several of his prominent

nobles, Tardī Bēg, Bāpūs Bēg, Qarācha Khān Muṣāhib Bēg, Shēr 'Alī, Isma'il Bēg would not have lived to render him signal service later on. It was Bāpūs Bēg that helped him in restoring order in Kabul in November, 1545, Qarācha Khān that nursed him in his illness in Qal'a-i-Zafar November, 1546—February 1547 and protected him from 'Askarī, and Tardī Bēg that had been his most prominent and loyal Turkī nobleman in his last Indian campaign that led to the occupation of Delhi in 1555 and to the second foundation of the Mughal kingdom.

We notice also that Humāyūn had done all in his power to befriend his brothers and cousins. He restored Bada-khshān to Sulaimān M., granted the rich, though distant, Kūlāb to Kāmran M., and released 'Askarī and granted him the neighbouring Karātigīn, made Hindāl M., his trusted commander of a division and granted him a rich and valuable *jāgīr*. When Kāmran M. submitted to him for the second time in 1548, he welcomed him as an honoured friend and sent all his nobles and courtiers to receive him and in his honour released 'Askarī and was glad to get an excuse for his release. Then he once more spoke of unity and tried to unite the brothers—Kāmran M., 'Askarī M., and Hindāl M.,—and cousins, Sulaimān M., and Muḥammad Sultān M., and his children in a common cause. It is the Chaghataī Bābur and Humāyūn that place before us the soul-stirring ideal of good in return for evil. It is sad to think that though the king was successful in winning over the hearts of many of his enemies, he failed in his aim so far as Kāmran M., and 'Askarī M., were concerned.

Again, it is a surprise to us to find so many of the principal nobles deserting Humāyūn's cause. Bāpūs Bēg, Tardī Bēg, Shēr Afgan, Qarācha Khān, Muṣāhib Bēg, Isma'il Bēg, and a host of others may be mentioned who

behaved at one time as loyal followers and at another time as base deserters. It does not appear that the preference of the rival candidate had much to do with such vile acts, for if that were the cause, at least Bāpūs Bēg and Qarācha Khān who had suffered grievously at Kāmran's hand would have continued to stay with the king. We venture to give two reasons for these transfers of loyalty. One, that the nobles desired to perpetuate disorder in the state in their own selfish interest.¹ Their over-active and selfish natures hated the peaceful organization of an orderly government. This only can explain Shēr Afgan's desertion in 1546. Secondly, the premier nobles like Bāpūs Bēg, Qarācha Khān, Muṣāhib Bēg and Tardī Bēg desired to retain for ever their individual influences in the kingdom and so long as the influence of one particular individual continued, he loyally served his master. Bāpūs Bēg and Qarācha Khān may be cited in illustration. It was at Bāpūs Bēg's suggestion that Kabul had been captured by Humāyūn in November, 1545 and it was he who was sent immediately after as the king's principal representative in restoring order in the city. When Bāpūs Bēg found his influence waning, he turned against Humāyūn's interests without any regard to the amiable disposition of his present master or to the ferocious and cruel nature of the rival Mirzā. Similarly, Qarācha Khān served the king loyally in the critical period when the latter lay ill at Qal'a-i-Zafar because the Khān was the *wakīl-i-muṭlaq* of the king. But when later on the king disregarded his unreasonable

¹ *Bad.* expresses the idea thus:

سوداران و امرا از برای گومی هتکامه خویش بازار نفاق را داج داده گاه
اینجا و گاه آنجا آمد و رفت میکردند

Feudal nobility had always been opposed to orderly kingship.

request to kill his *Dīwān* simply because he had not paid a paltry sum on behalf of the *Khān*¹, he fled away to *Kāmraṇ M.*, and carried away many other nobles with their retainers with him. Both *Bāpūs Bēg* and *Qarācha Khān*² had suffered grievously at the *Mirzā's* hand, the former's wife being dishonoured in the most inhuman way and children massacred and the latter being threatened with the death of his son. But selfishness made the two nobles blind to the fiendish disposition of the *Mirzā*. The dishonour of a wife or the death of the children was a matter of minor importance to them; what they cared for was the maintenance of political eminence in the king's court. With such a selfish notion urging half a dozen chief nobles, there was a state of constant strife and disorder. The rival candidates for kingship had practically no remedy for the evil.

Another prominent feature in the king's character at this time was his earnestness for the conquest of *Balkh*, leading, as he fondly hoped, to further conquests in Central Asia. If the *Mughal* writers are to be believed, the Uzbek chief, *Pīr Muḥammad Khān*, was afraid of the king and if only all the *Mirzās* had combined under *Humāyūn's* lead, they would have realized *Bābur's* dream of the conquest of the native land of the *Tīmūrīds*. In this phase of life, *Humāyūn* looks a roving warrior like his father, ever ready for a campaign, though being more delicate by constitution, he was often thwarted in his aims by illness.

¹ The sum was ten *tumāns*. *Tumān* was a gold coin that circulated in *Īrān*.

² *Muṣāḥib Bēg* may also be mentioned in this connection.

CHAPTER XIII

HUMĀYŪN'S STRUGGLE WITH KĀMRĀN (CONTD). 'ASKARĪ'S EXILE, 1551, HINDĀL'S AND KĀMRĀN'S DEATHS

Humāyūn for the third time entered Kābul as a conqueror in October, 1548,¹ while Kāmrān M. was posted in the distant Kūlāb.² The king had fondly believed that his appeal for union would bear fruit and that a series of conquests now lay before him either in the direction of Balkh or India.³ Haidar M.,⁴ who had occupied Kashmir and been ruling there for the last eight years, invited him to his kingdom but the king refused to be diverted from the Balkh campaign, as resolved at the last meeting of the Mirzās in August⁵ last, even though he had lost in the interval Ulugh M., of Zamīndāwar and Shāh M., his brother of Ushtar Girām, and had dismissed Qarācha Khān and Muṣāhib Bēg from service. Actually, the last two, after obtaining permission to go on a pilgrimage to Macca, had continued to stay in the Hazāra district and afterwards with the king's permission had returned to him.⁶

First of all he sent messages to Kāmrān M., 'Askarī M.,

¹ The two other previous occasions had been November, 1545 and April, 1547.

² Situated north of the Āmū river.

³ *I. N.* says that he had both in view but gave priority to the Balkh campaign.

⁴ Bābur's cousin, being his mother's sister's son.

⁵ *Far.* says that Bairam Khān had warned Humāyūn of danger from the Uzbeks and the king was determined to forestall them.

⁶ *I. N.*

Sulaimān M., and Hindāl M. to get ready and to join him at Narīn in February, 1549 and then, relying on a response from them, he advanced in March, stopped for a month at Chālāk¹ in order to enable those who lagged behind to join him, and then at a leisurely pace passed on to Bihzādī, Farza,² Istālīf, Panjshīr, Andarāb, Narīn and Nīlbar. At the last place, Hindāl M., and Sulaimān joined him and at Baqlān³ they were sent in advance to capture Aibak, the king following them immediately after. Aibak fell and a prominent Uzbek Khwāja, the tutor of Pīr Moḥammad Khān, the chief of Balkh,⁴ was made captive. When consulted about the courses to be pursued by the Mughals,⁵ the Khwāja suggested two alternatives,⁶ one, the cruel course of not giving any quarter to and of killing the prisoners including himself. The people thus cowed by the Mughal severity would yield and the whole of Central Asia would fall into the Mughal hands. The other was to make an honourable peace with Pīr Moḥammad Khān and to be content with the possession of the territories south of the river Khulm, and with the aid of a thousand select Uzbek warriors for the conquest of Hindustān. The king was not willing to accept either of the suggested cours-

¹ *G. H. N.* is incorrect in its statements that the king had stayed in Kabul for a year and a half and that the campaign started in 958 A. H. (1551 A.D.). The year should be 956 A.H. (1549) as given by *Far.*, *S. S.* and *Kb. T.*

² *I. N.*

³ Situated 3 miles south of Istālīf. Here the king sent his ladies back to the capital.

⁴ Situated 18 miles south of Aibak. In the modern maps it is put down as Guzar-i-Baqlān.

⁵ *T. Sh.* and *T. Kb. T. B. B. T. H. B.* calls him Khwāja Bāgh Atālīgh, Jauhar, Mīr Atālīq Bēg and *I. N.*, Khwāja Nāq Atālīq.

⁶ *Jauhar* suggests that the Khwāja was so pleased with the king's benevolence that in gratitude he suggested the two alternative courses.

es, the first his genial nature revolted against¹ and the second being a compromise he was not in a mood to accept.²

The king continued to stay for several days at Aibak³ in order to let Kāmṛān M. and 'Askarī M. join him. Then he passed on to the bank of the river Balkh that flowed half a *cōs* south of the city. The delay was unfortunate, for Pīr Moḥammad Khān who might have been defeated if immediately attacked by the combined arms of the Mughals, got time to write to 'Abdul 'Aziz Khān of Bokhārā and obtained a large reinforcement commanded by 'Abdul 'Aziz Khān himself. So far there was no news of Kāmṛān M. or 'Askarī M. his henchman, but the king, believing in their sincerity and depending on their support, moved on to Khulm, Bābā Shāhū, and Mazār-i-Sharīf. There at first a small skirmish took place between the Mughal troops and the Uzbeks under Waqqās Sultān and Shāh Muḥammad Sultān Ḥiṣārī and this was followed the next day by a more hotly contested battle⁴ when Pīr Moḥammad Khān and Humāyūn were commanding their respective troops.⁵ The Mughal troops drove the Uzbeks beyond the Balkh river and might have, if they had doggedly pursued, occupied Balkh the next morning but they were oppressed by a feeling of depression at the continued

¹ The king was not prepared to kill the Khwāja and thus break his promise of safety of life.

² If *Jauhar* is correct, Humāyūn after the occupation of Balkh wished to grant it to Kāmṛān M.

³ Which *Kb. T.* wrongly calls Attock.

⁴ When Hājī Moḥammad obtained the title of Khān as a reward of his valour.

⁵ *Bad.*, 451., *Far.*, I. N., *T. Kb. T.* and *R. T.* mention that 'Abdul 'Aziz was himself present; *Far.* puts down that the Uzbeks were 30,000 in number, and *I. N.* says that 'Aziz commanded the centre, still the Uzbeks were defeated. It speaks well of the fighting qualities of the Mughal troops.

absence of Kāmrān M.,¹ and so retreated to Aibak² and Daragaz. Thus the campaign which had begun in their favour was discontinued and a retreat commenced which soon degenerated into a disorderly flight.³ The long-cherished dream of the conquest of Balkh had to be abandoned and the more pressing question of Kāmrān's whereabouts had to be attended to.

The river Balkh was the northernmost point reached by the Mughals in the direction of Balkh.⁴ The king had next to devote his whole attention to Kāmrān M., and when in November 1553 the Mirzā was disabled, the plan of an Indian campaign had already matured and it was at the end of an Indian campaign that Humāyūn's death took place; so the Balkh campaign was postponed for ever. A. Fazl⁵ sage-like reflects on this non-appearance of Kāmrān M., and observes: 'Had this disaster (Kāmrān's absence from the field) not occurred the work of the helpless ones of India would have been hindered by the undertaking of the conquest of Transoxiana; and the settled government of those lands which are a haven for the pilgrims of the seven climes would have sunk under the veil of delay.' One may rightly ponder over the merest accidents that

¹ *Bad.*, 451. G. H. N. says that the Mughals felt, they were not strong enough.

² Which they passed at night with the mouths of their horses closely secured in order to prevent them from neighing and thus from waking the inhabitants of the city.

³ *T. Sh.* The retreat according to G. H. N. amazed the Uzbeks. The royal army actually 'ran away'. The reason, as given by *Far.* and *I. N.* seems to be that Daragaz was situated towards the south, hence the soldiery thought they were returning to Kabul.

⁴ *B. B. T. H. B.* and *T. Sh.* Further east a more northern region had been reached by the Mughals in Kūlāb which had belonged to them from Bābur's time. G. H. N. and *Jauhar* incorrectly say that the king had reached Balkh itself.

⁵ See *A. N.*, 290.

mightily change the course of events, nay, even the destiny of the nations. Instead of effecting the subjugation of Central Asia, the king turned to India and after its conquest handed down his kingdom to his son Akbar, who in his turn consolidated it and established an Imperialism that could vie with the other mighty systems of the past and all this happened merely because of Kāmrān's disaffection and flight to the east which caused the king's attention to be drawn away from Central Asia to the easier task of the conquest of Hindustān.

From Daragaz the king's army retreated southward, Sulaimān M., and Ḥusain Qulī *Mubardār* valiantly defending the rear against the enemy who was growing bolder day by day.¹ The defence at last broke down and the Uzbeks now began to attack the main army. The king himself had to fight almost everyday and in one of the skirmishes lost his steed, which had borne the name of *Tasarru-i-nāẓirīn*.² He hurriedly returned to Kabul, Sulaimān M., and Hindāl M., returning to Badakhshān and Qunduz respectively, released the Uzbek prisoners, and started attending to the administration of Kabul.³ He stayed in the capital for the rest of the year, 956 A.H. (1549).

Let us turn to Kāmrān M., who was the cause of all

¹ The retreat was conducted amidst great privations and the soldiers were reduced to eating horse's flesh, the wounded horses being killed for the purpose. Even influential nobles like Muṣāḥib Bēg were reduced to subsist on uncooked meat. Sometime from old pits, corn, vegetable or fruits were obtained. The king himself often was famishing and more than once could not sleep for days together.

² A. N. and I. N. give a list of the officers that were with the king during the retreat. B. B. T. H. B. gives a vivid description of the battle, being actually present on the occasion. See also *T. Sh.*, 327-8.

³ The famous painters, Khwāja 'Abdus Ṣamad and Khwāja Sayyid 'Alī were introduced to the king about this time.

this disappointment to the king. As soon as he had reached Kūlāb in November, 1548, he quarrelled with his coadjutor, Chākar Bēg, and when the king sent Mīrzā Shāh Sulṭān blaming Chākar Bēg and ordering Kāmrān M. to return to Kabul and take another *jāgīr* in exchange for Kūlāb, the Mīrzā did not obey; for, he said, he had forsaken the world and henceforth should have nothing to do with kingdoms.¹ The Mīrzā's words were those of a base hypocrite, for at the same time he had written a sinful letter to Sulaimān's Amazonian wife, Hāram Bēgam² and then for the very shame at its disclosure to Sulaimān M. and his son, Ibrāhīm M., had become a recluse, his wife, Muḥtarima Bēgam and his daughter, 'Āyisha Sulṭān, retiring to Khōst and Andarāb. So long as Humāyūn had continued to stay in Kabul, the Mīrzā professed submission and promised aid in the king's campaigns but when the latter actually proceeded to the north, he stayed away and when the king returned to Kabul after three months,³ came out in his true colours and attacked Sulaimān M. driving him away from Qal'a-i-Zafar to the defiles of the hills. Next he besieged Hindāl M. in Qunduz and obtained help from the Uzbeks. Hindāl M. could only extricate himself from his difficulties by adopting guile and writing a letter in which he pretended that Kāmrān and he were both hostile to the Uzbeks and that their mutual object was just to entrap the enemy to destruction. The stratagem was successful and Kāmrān's allies were separated from him for ever. At the same time Kāmrān M. received other evil tidings, e.g., that Chākar Bēg had come forward and besieged 'Askarī M., Kāmrān's

¹ *Jauhar*.

² For Kāmrān's sinful proposal see *G. H. N.*, 75*b.* and 76*a.*

³ *Jauhar*.

deputy in Kūlāb, and Sulaimān M. had recovered Qal'a-i-Zafar. Kām-rān M. could not withstand the calamities and was at last forced to abandon Badakhshān and fly through Khōst, Zuhāk, Bāmiān to the Hazāra district. Knowing the kindly nature of his brother, he again took advantage of it, and wrote to him in a penitent vein incorporating the couplet:

“I have come again to worship the dust of thy feet
If submission be ordered, I'm ready to render it.”

The king signified his acceptance of the Mirzā's offer of submission, but as a measure of caution, took an army to Ghōrband in the middle of 957 A.H. (June-July 1550). Qarācha Khān and Muṣāhib Bēg again wrote to Kām-rān M. suggesting that he should come post-haste to Dara Qibchāq where they would join him² and later on the whole party would proceed to Kabul which would fall into their hands like a ripe fruit. With treacherous hearts they accompanied the king to Qarā Bāgh, Chārikār and the river Bārān and while encamped by the river, they suggested to the king a division of the royal troops in order to guard the different routes that led to Kabul. Of course their main object was to weaken the king's contingent. The latter accepted the suggestion, divided his troops, sent one division under Hājī Muḥammad Khān, Mīr Barka, Khwāja Jalāluddīn Maḥmūd to Zuhāk and Bāmiān and another under Mun'im Khān to Sāl Ūlang and took his stand with the rest at the defile of Qibchāq.³ Kām-rān M., duly informed, came forward to fight the king, who with his small number of soldiers was pitched in a

¹ *Far.* adds the name of Qāsim Husain Sultān also.

² *T. Sh.*, 329.

³ Near Ghōrband. See *Kh. T.*

valley surrounded by hills. The Mirzā's men came to the hills and from their commanding positions showered arrows on the king's camp. Then they attacked the enemy. On the battlefield, Qarācha Khān, Muṣāḥib Bēg, Qāsim Husain Sulṭān¹ and many other officers and men of the common rank went over to the Mirzā's side and the exasperated king noting the desertions from a neighbouring mound joined his soldiers in the conflict. His horse fell under him and he himself was wounded in his head² and his whole face was streaming with blood, still he valiantly fought on. At last an attendant led him away from the battlefield.³ The king fled to Zuhāk and Bāmiān and in the distress of his wound, which took a month to heal, had taken off his cuirass and given it to Sumbul Mirzā who in his turn considering it to be a load flung it away. When the question came up where the wounded king was to retire, some suggested Qandahār and others Kabul but the king decided to go to Badakhshān. Qarācha Khān and others had already left him on the battlefield and now Hājī Muḥammad sent his brother to Kāmrān and meditated to follow himself later on. The mischief was aggravated by the king's cuirass being found and presented to Kāmrān M., and for some time the report went round that the king existed no more. This naturally led to several other desertions.

In the meantime the king started for Badakhshān, went by Kahmard⁴ and Andarāb, obtained troops from

¹ A. N., R. T. and S. S.

² According to B. B. T. H. B. the slave, Bābā of Muqaddam Bēg, had struck him from behind.

³ I. N.

⁴ *Janbar* gives a vivid description of the king's journey, the condition of his wound, paucity of apparel and of tents etc. Once he accepted a pair of breeches from an old woman; on another occa-

Hindāl M., and Sulaimān M., or rather from the latter's wife, Ḥaram Bēgam, for it was she who had superintended the despatch to the king of several thousand men fully accoutred and provided with fresh horses. The king returned to Zuhāk and Bāmiān and went forward to Kabul which was now once again in Kāmrān's possession.

Let us turn to the Mirzā. He had returned victorious from the battlefield, killed Ḥusain Qulī *Mubardār*, a faithful attendant of the king and hence distasteful to him, listened to the slave Bābā's description of the infliction of a wound on the king's person and then at Chārikār was shown the blood-stained cuirass. Assured of the king's death, in his joy he repeated the couplet:

دمی حیات پس از مردن چنان دشمن گمان برم که ز صد سال زندگانی به

"To outlive such a foe even for a single moment
I trow is better than the long life of a hundred years."

and hurried on to Kabul. As Qāsim Khān Barlās,¹ the king's deputy, would not surrender, the blood-stained cuirass was shown to him and then he yielded. Kāmrān M. strengthened his cause by judicious distribution of *jāgīrs*, 'Askarī getting Jūi-Shāhī (renamed Jalālabād in Akbar's reign), Qarācha Khān Ghaznī and Yāsīn Daulat, Kāmrān's son-in-law, Ghōrband.² The administration of the kingdom was to be conducted by Qarācha Khān and Khwāja Qāsim together. They proved heavy governors, for not only were Akbar, the king's Dīwān, Khwāja Sultān 'Alī

sion purchased 1700 horses from the merchants; and when he stayed with the Aimāqs received 600 goats every day.

¹ According to *Jauhar*, he was originally in Kāmrān's service. Since he had transferred his services, he would not now yield to his former master.

² Known also as Āq Sultān.

and several other royal servants imprisoned but many other citizens, who had nothing to do with Humāyūn, also suffered at their hands.

Thus three months passed.¹ With the king's approach from Badakhshān² the Mirzā left Bābā Jujak and Mullā Shafāi³ as his deputies in Kabul and went forward with prince Akbar in his train. The two armies met at Ushtar Girām. Previous to the battle, for fear that traitors and cowards might exist among his followers, Humāyūn administered with great solemnity, an oath of sincerity and good-will and at Hājī Muḥammad's suggestion, he himself made a solemn promise to give due consideration to any valid representation of his soldiery. Before the actual battle took place, the king as usual made an effort through Maulānā 'Abdul Bāqī to effect peace without bloodshed and when Kāmran suggested a partition of the two provinces of Kabul and Qandahār, Humāyūn receiving Qandahār and Kāmran Kabul, Humāyūn was agreeable on condition that the Mirzā's daughter be married to Akbar and Kabul bestowed on the couple, while the two brothers would proceed on a campaign to India and carve out new kingdoms for themselves. The Mirzā also might have agreed but was dissuaded by Qarācha Khān, the commander-in-chief of his army, who was addressed by him as Father.⁴ The Khān insisted on the grant of Kabul to Kāmran Mirzā without any condition appended to it.

¹ *I. N.* and *Kb. T.* Jauhar says that Humāyūn had stayed at Andarāb for 1 month and 20 days, *R. T.* and *T. Kb. T.* 1 month and 10 days.

² On the way the king had again obtained horses on credit from some merchants.

³ *B. B. T. H. B.* calls him Shaqāi.

⁴ *I. N.* says that Qarācha Khān while rejecting Humāyūn's offer used the expression, 'Kabul and our heads' meaning probably that Kabul would be with us so long as our heads stand on our shoulders.

Since a battle seemed inevitable Humāyūn made due preparations. Hājī Muḥammad Khān with treason in his heart made some hours' delay¹ but the king at last marched out at noon in a regular order with himself in the centre, Sulaimān Mirzā in the right wing, Hindāl Mirzā in the left, Ibrāhīm Mirzā in the vanguard and Hājī Muḥammad Khān in charge of the reserve. Kāmrān Mirzā was similarly in the centre with 'Askarī on his right and Āq Sultān on his left and Qarācha Khān in the vanguard. The actual battle took place near Ushtar Girām at the end of September 1550.² At the opening of the battle, the painter, Khwāja 'Abdus Ṣamad, who had been Kāmrān's captive at the time of his occupation of Kabul and was now in his camp, deserted him for the king. The good omen was repeated when Qarācha Khān was killed and his head was brought to Humāyūn.³ The Khān's death boded ill for the Mirzā and at the end of the day he fled eastward to Lamghān through Bādpaj pass.⁴ 'Askarī fell a captive into the king's hand. While he was spared, many others including the tyrannous Khwāja Qāsim, Mīr Buyūtāt, were executed as a warning to the others and much booty was obtained, each person retaining what was obtained by him. The king recovered his library that he had lost in the battle of Qib-chāq. A thanks-offering assembly was held at Chārīkār and

¹ *Jauhar*.

² *B. B. T. H. B.*

³ *T. Sb.* says that he was captured and brought to the king. 'Alī Bahādur's son killed him in retaliation of his brother's death at the Khān's hand.

⁴ Probably the same as Bādpush pass of the modern maps, situated 38 miles east of Kabul. *G. H. N.* relates an anecdote here viz., Āq Sultān rebuked Kāmrān for his continued opposition to Humāyūn and as a punishment was deprived of the company of his wife, Ḥabība Sultān, Kāmrān's daughter.

then the king pushed on to Kabul.¹ The traitors like Dīndār Bēg,² Ḥaidar Dōst, Mughal Qānjī and Mast ‘Alī were capitally punished and then suitable rewards were distributed to the deserving, Ibrāhīm Mirzā being especially honoured, because of his and his father’s services in the late battle of Ushtar Girām, by a proposal of marriage between the Mirzā and Akbar’s half-sister, Bakhshī Bānū.³ Akbar got the village of Charkh in Lōhgar and Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān whose treachery was not yet fully apparent and who had rendered signal services in the past was made *wakīl-i-darḡhāna* (mayor of the palace). The king during his stay for a year in Kabul⁴ held feasts, picnics, and hunts in which he was sometimes joined by his ladies. On one occasion, when separated from the rest of the party, Hindāl Mirzā got a wound from some unknown person supposed to have been sent by Kāmrān Mirzā. The wound took full one year to heal.

Now that the northern regions were closed to him because of the fidelity of Sulaimān Mirzā to the king and of the separation of the Uzbeks from himself, Kāmrān Mirzā fled in the guise of a *qalandar*⁵ by way of Dih-i-Sabz⁶ and because Hindāl Mirzā, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān and Khizr Khwāja Sultān were less vigilant, he escaped to

¹ Mirzā Pir Badāgh uttered the following quatrain in Humāyūn’s honour

باز آمدیم و سکه دولت بنام ما ست اقبال یار گشت و سعادت غلام ما ست
نامم بداغ بنده و با داغ حیدرم هر جا شهیدست در همه عالم غلام ما ست

showing that the writer was a Shī‘a. Badāgh confidently asserts his Shī‘a faith knowing full well the king’s sentiments towards the sect.

² I. N. calls him Bēdār Bēg.

³ After Ibrāhīm’s death she married Sharafuddīn Ḥusain.

⁴ G. H. N., 79a. The year would be October 1550-September 1551.

⁵ *Far.*, 240.

⁶ Situated 14 miles *n.e.* of Kabul.

Lamghān with only eight followers.¹ Though the Afghāns stripped him of all his belongings, he managed to escape to Mandraur² again in the guise of a *qalandar*, shaving his face clean. At Mandraur Malik Muḥammad in remembrance of old obligations tended him and the Mirzā with the indomitable courage that might have proved an asset for a better cause, gathered a fresh army of 1500 men.³ The king was also fully awake to Kāmran's affairs and now that Hājī Muḥammad had finally left him for Ghaznī, he sent another army under less noted generals against the Mirzā. The latter unable to offer a battle, withdrew to 'Aligar and 'Alishang⁴ and thence to the tribal lands of Khalīls, Maḥmands, Dāūdzaīs and Maliks of Lamghān.

The king in the meantime took a further step in his conciliation of Sulaimān Mirzā by desiring to marry his daughter, Khānam. Hāram Bēgam, Sulaimān Mirzā's wife, was not at first satisfied with the rank of the messenger who brought in the proposal but was mollified by the king's assurance that he would make amends by himself coming forward to take his bride.⁵ Since the girl was too young, the marriage was postponed for the present, Sulaimān agreeing to its performance when his daughter would

¹ Their names are given by I. N.

² Situated 16 miles n.w. of Jalālabād. B. H. T. H. B. calls it Mandrāwal and I. N. Mandrāwar.

³ *Far*.

⁴ Situated in N. Lamghān, 'Aligar being in the east of 'Alishang. The maps spell the former as Alingar.

⁵ This continued desire for the possession of women is an unpleasant feature of the Mediaeval times. The only redeeming features in Humāyūn were that he had a lesser number of wives than some of the other kings of Delhi e.g. Akbar, and that he was not so devoted to his wives as to forget his duties to the other womenfolk or his duties to the state as Jahāngīr had done.

be older and the king too consenting to the postponement as he had to gather all his womenfolk for the occasion. Next he wanted to dispose of 'Askarī Mirzā who as prisoner was a drag on him. Since 'Askarī Mirzā was wholly in the leading strings of Kāmrān Mirzā and displayed no contrition or change of heart whatsoever, it was well-nigh impossible to hope for any loyalty from him. So 'Askarī Mirzā was sent to Badakhshān (1551) with orders to Sulaimān that he should see to it that the Mirzā left for Hijāz via Balkh. The order was carried out and 'Askarī Mirzā spent the remaining span of his life in Arabia dying there in 965 A.H. (1557-8).¹

Before dismissing 'Askarī Mirzā, it would be profitable to appraise his character. Born in 1516 he is mentioned in *Bābur-nāma* as receiving valuable gifts² from his victorious father after the battle of Pānīpat. At the age of twelve, he was appointed the chief commander for the eastern campaign against the Afghāns of Bihār and received a jewelled dagger, a belt and royal dress of honour, a standard, horse-tail, kettle-drums, also horses, mules and camels, ten elephants, the equipage of a royal camp and leave 'to hold a princely court and sit at the head of a hall of state.' It was his flanking movement and attack on Patna that decided the battle of Ghagra in 1529. In Humāyūn's reign, when he was appointed viceroy of Gujrāt, he misgoverned it in 1536-37 and managed to lose this newly-conquered province. But later on he served the king during his retreat from Bengal and skilfully conducted the Mughals through the Afghān lands of east Bihār. This is all that can be said in his favour, for ever afterwards he

¹ A. N. I. N. and Kb. T. Far., T. Kb. T. and S. S. put down 961 A. H.

² B. N., 522.

became Kāmrān Mirzā's declared henchman and continually thwarted the king and it was his determined attitude at Qandahār that had driven away the king to Īrān his infant son, Akbar, being left behind. The king overlooked his faults as long as he could and when he could not do so any longer, sent him to the honourable exile to Macca.

With all his faults, 'Askarī Mirzā was a cultured Mughal prince¹ and was noted for his generosity and his treatment of Akbar may be mentioned in this connection. Because of this trait, the chronogram of his birth has been found in *عسکری بادشاہ دریادل* 'King Askari, bountiful as the sea.'²

Let us return to Kāmrān Mirzā, who had been staying with the Khalils, Maḥmands and Dāūdzaīs. He gathered a number of Afghāns, set about plundering and ravaging the neighbours and then besieged Chār Bāgh.³ When the king got news of his brother's misdoings, he wanted to chastise the Mirzā in order to maintain the Mughal reputation of justice, and so without waiting for Hājī Muḥammad Khān and his Ghaznī contingent, he started for him (1551 A.D.). The latter abandoned the siege and at once fled to Bangash and Gardēz, hoping to join the Khān who had dismissed the king's messengers with false hopes and had written to Kāmrān Mirzā to come and join him. The Mirzā made a delay in coming to Ghaznī. In the meantime, Bairam Khān arrived there and by his smooth tongue, prevailed on the Khān to accompany him to Kabul. The restless Kāmrān too had moved towards the city and the king also was returning there.

¹ For a praise of 'Askarī see *S. S.*

² The date comes out to be 922 A. H. (1516 A. D.).

³ Situated 12 miles n.w. of Jalālabād.

On Bairam Khān's approach, the Mirzā retreated to Lamghān and as Hājī Muḥammad was roughly dealt with by Khwāja Jalāluddīn Maḥmūd, the king's deputy in Kabul, he too returned to his *jāgīr* in Ghaznī. On the Mirzā's retreat eastward, the king stopped on his way to Kabul and without entering the city, retraced his steps eastwards and, at his followers' entreaties, entrusted Bairam Khān with the task of dealing with Hājī Muḥammad and bringing him in. Bairam carried out his instructions and all the three, the king, Bairam Khān and Hājī Muḥammad started in pursuit of the Mirzā. The party reached Jūi-Shāhī, but the Mirzā retreated further northward to Kunar and Nurgal with Bairam at his heels. The Mirzā finally fled to the Indus and Bairam fell back and rejoined his master at Dakka.¹

The Mirzā being driven out of Afghānistān, the king now returned to deal with the treasonous Hājī Muḥammad and his brother, Shāh Muḥammad. Lately, Hājī Muḥammad had been defiant in his attitude and been spreading sedition and the king before condemning him outright, drew a list of his meritorious and evil deeds. Though he had done signal services during the king's stay in Irān, his recent crimes counted one hundred and two and his brother was found involved in most of them. So both of them were executed and their fiefs were distributed among other followers, Ghaznī itself being given to a brave officer named Bahādur Khān.

As it was winter now and campaigning was found inconvenient, a halt was made for three months. With the advent of the spring, the king returned to the river

¹ Situated at the western end of the Khaibar pass. *M. R.*, 601 gives Bairam Khān's details. *T. Kb.* *T.* and *R. T.* say that the Mirzā fled to Peshawar.

Bārān via Bādpaj pass and thence to Kabul, Bairam being dismissed to his fief, Qandahār. A re-shuffle of the *jāgīrs* took place; Hindāl Mirzā was given Ghaznī, Gardēz, Bangash and Lōhgar,—Qunduz, Hindāl Mirzā's late *jāgīr* being forcibly occupied by Ibrāhīm Mirzā¹—and Khizr Khwāja Sultān, Gulbadan Bēgam's husband got Jūi-Shāhī.

Kāmrān Mirzā had not yet done with strife and rebellion. On the king's return to Kabul, he also retraced his steps from the Indus and created disturbance in Khizr Khwāja's *jāgīr*. The king who was resolved on the Mirzā's extirpation, sent for Hindāl from Ghaznī, retraced his steps eastward and launched another campaign. The Mirzā while retreating made a night attack on the royal advance-guard between Surkhāb and Gandamak, but he was unsuccessful. The king again moved to Japriār in Ningrahār.² Here on the night of the twenty-first of *Zulq'ada*, 958 A.H. (November 20, 1551), Kāmrān Mirzā made another unsuccessful night-attack which cost the life of Hindāl Mirzā.³ So long as the issue was in doubt, his death was concealed by Khwāja Ibrāhīm Badakhshī. The news was at last broken to the king by Mīr 'Abdul Haiy in a couplet

شہا نور دو عالم رفت بر باد گل صد برگ سوری را بقا باد

¹ It was really granted to Mīr Barka and to another nobleman; but Ibrāhīm Mirzā forcibly occupied it and the king connived at the occupation.

² A Kabul province. *Kh. T.* locates the battlefield near Gandamak.

³ Kāmrān Mirzā, who bore no malice to Hindāl Mirzā deeply mourned over his death. *G. H. N.* gives a detailed description of Hindāl's death. *B. B. T. H. B.* calls him Nawāb Mirzā Hindāl.

“O king, The light of the two worlds has perished
May the beautiful rose of hundred petals (Hindāl)
live (in the other world).”

Hindāl was at first buried in Jūi-Shāhī and later on by the side of his father, Bābur, in Kābul. Jahāngīr in the second year of his reign put up an inscription on the tomb.¹ The chronograms of the death are given by the phrase, شب خون ‘night attack’ and by the sentence, سرودی از بوستان دولت رفت ‘the cypress went out of the garden of the worldly felicity’² At the time of his death Hindāl Mirzā was 32 years old.

Born in 1519 when Bābur was engaged in an Indian campaign and brought up by Māham Bēgam, the chief queen of Bābur,³ at the age of 10, he was in command of the Mughal outpost of Badakhshān. In Humāyūn’s reign, he was granted Alwar as *jāgīr* but not satisfied with the grant, he thought of his opportunity while the king was shut up in Gaur, declared himself king and paid no heed even to his mother, Dildār Bēgam’s remonstrances. In Humāyūn’s wanderings for a time the Mirzā helped him in Sind; later on, he deserted him and went away to Qandahār. There he was captured by Kāmrān Mirzā who kept him in surveillance. On the king’s return from Īrān Hindāl Mirzā joined him and henceforward

¹ It is curious that in the inscription there are two mistakes and both of them occur in Hindāl’s name. As it stands, it reads Mirra Mindāl. Both are the engraver’s errors; for the person buried has been described as Zāhīruddīn Bābur’s son.

² بوستان دولت gives 959. The سرود is 1 i.e. one is to be taken from 959 giving 958 as the year of death. The words are very apt in describing a young and rich Mughal prince who in his youth looked like a tall cypress. Since it is a chronogram of death, a reference to cypress, the tree of the cemetery, is appropriate.

³ For the story of Māham Bēgam’s adoption of Hindāl Mirzā, see B. N., 374 and G. H. N., 9-10.

remained loyal to him, though more than once out of misplaced commiseration for Kāmran Mirzā he allowed him to avoid capture and thus prolonged his master's woes. For six years, 1545-51 he was in a way the right hand of the king, and at the end sacrificed his life for him. Gulbadan Bēgam's grief at her brother's death was acute and led her to wish for his life even at the expense of herself or of her husband Khizr Khwāja or of her only son Sa'adat Yār.¹ The other sister, Gulchihra Bēgam, through weeping and sorrow fell ill and went off her head.² The body of the Mirzā was entrusted to Khizr Khwāja, who buried him in his own *jāgīr* at Jūi-Shāhī.³

Let us return to our narration of the affairs of the king and of the Mirzā. After Hindāl Mirzā's death, his *jāgīr* in Ghaznī and his servants also⁴ were assigned to Akbar, now nine years old and the prince was asked to go to Kabul to console Hindāl's mother and sister and thence to proceed to Ghaznī (end of December 1551). The king himself continued to stay throughout the winter of 1551-2 at Bihsūd⁵ in the neighbourhood of Jūi-Shāhī. Kāmran Mirzā after his defeat in the battle that cost Hindāl's life, again took shelter with the Afghān tribes, each tribe or

¹ *G. II. N.*, 80a and b.

² *Ibid.*, 81a.

³ Situated 27 miles from the battlefield of Japriār or Gandamak. The corpse was not taken to Kabul because of the longer distance, 48 miles, and also because Khizr Khwāja had to get ready for further campaigns against the Mirzā.

⁴ The names of fourteen servants are mentioned in *A. N. Bābā Dōst* and *Muhammad Tāhir* were dismissed from Akbar's service. *Far.* and *S. S.* mention that Hindāl's daughter, Ruqia Sultān Bēgam, was married to Akbar. Probably the marriage took place later on; for the prince was at this time only 9 years old.

⁵ Situated on the north side of Kabul river opposite to Jalālabād. *Kb. T.* places it in Ningrahār.

landholder entertaining him for a week¹ thus preventing the king from tracing his whereabouts. So long as the severity of the winter lasted the king kept quiet. When it ended, he deputed his officers after the Mirzā. The capture of two of the latter's envoys to Malik Muḥammad of Mandraur indicated the Mirzā's place of refuge. From them the king came to know also of the tribes that had given shelter, so he sent an army to harass them. This was done in a thorough manner, entailing destruction of villages and enslavement of women. At last the king's men reached the Mirzā's tent but in the darkness of the night they caught hold of a wrong person, the Mirzā escaping. When the Afghāns noticed how heavily they suffered in befriending the Mirzā, they withdrew their hospitality and left him alone.

The Mirzā's situation was growing desperate, still with a tenacity worthy of a better cause, he continued to defy the king and went to Islām Shāh, the Afghān king of Delhi. Humāyūn who had moved forward in order to be in the neighbourhood of his own officers, sent men in pursuit of the Mirzā, and returned to Bihsūd and Chār Bāgh² and later on to Kabul. Now that the Mirzā had fled to Islām Shah, the king resolved on an invasion of Hindustān.³ Whether he would have been successful against the powerful Afghān king is very doubtful; for when some time later he expressed a desire to conquer Kashmir which was then in a state of disorder, he was persuaded by his followers not to do so for fear of an attack

¹ *Jauhar*.

² Situated on the Kabul river, 12 miles n.-w. of Jalālabād. If B. B. T. H. B.'s narration be accepted, the king with 30,000 Afghāns had reached a place between Rohtās and Siālkōt when hearing of Islām Shāh's advance, retreated by way of Manāra Kaju and Swat.

³ *T. Kb. T. and R. T.*

from the rear by Islām Shāh.

During his stay in Kabul, while on an excursion to Zimma he had a fall from his horse and sustained injuries. Fearing an unhappy end, he hastily sent for prince Akbar from Ghaznī. The fears were unfounded and he recovered. For a few months the king remained in his capital and according to A. Faḡl he was engaged in administration. When he heard of Kāmraṇ's return from Islām Shāh's court, he again moved to the east and began harassing the Afghān tribes, Abdur Raḥmānī and Barma-zīdī, for affording shelter to his brother. In the meantime he received information from Sulṭān Ādam Gakhār that the Mirzā was a captive and was staying with him. How this occurred may be indicated below.

The Mirzā, as related above, fled to India at Shāh Budāgh's suggestion, and sent a messenger to Islām Shāh asking for shelter. The Afghān king, who was at that moment halting at Ban¹ received him 'in a manner unfitting for enemies or street dogs.' The Mirzā was denied the royal title, being called a mere *muqaddam-ṣāda* of Kabul and was granted only a thousand rupees for his expenses.² Erskine in his *History of India* gives a detailed description of the humiliating reception e.g., he was received by inferior personages, was introduced to the Afghān ruler as an ordinary nobleman and given an inferior seat. The Mirzā continued to stay in Islām Shāh's camp, when the two usually held discourses on their poetical compositions which often ended in mutual recriminations.⁴ The Afghān

¹ An unidentified place unless it be the Ban situated 8 miles s.-w. of Jammu.

² G. H. N.

³ Erskine: *History of India*, Vol. II, 408-9. See also Dorn., 168.

⁴ S. S. narrates a repartee that Kāmraṇ made to the Afghān king at the very first interview. Seeing the Mirzā with his head and face

king on his return to Delhi had brought the Mirzā along and though he had promised aid to him,¹ his real intention was to keep him as hostage and utilize him in his dealings with Humāyūn. So the Mirzā divining Islām Shāh's intentions,² escaped with the greatest difficulty³ to Rājā Bakhu, a *zamīndār* in the neighbourhood of Machhiwārā. The latter in his turn sent him to the Rājā of Kahlūr. Thence the Mirzā went in a covered litter to Nagarkōt, Mānkōt and Jammu and finally reached Sulṭān Ādam Gakhar's camp. The Mirzā, even when reduced to this extremity, hoped to induce the Gakhar chief to join him in a campaign against Humāyūn; but Sulṭān Ādam was loyal to the latter and the Mirzā's appeal failed. Now losing all hopes and seeing no other quarter for refuge he wrote to his elder brother. Ādam forwarded the Mirzā's letter along with one of his own through one of his men named Dhāran. Qāzī Hāmid was sent to fetch the Mirzā and the Gakhar chief and when he did not succeed, Mun'im Khān was sent. They at last came and met Humāyūn

clean-shaven, Islām Shāh jestingly put in, 'Do your women shave their heads like you,' to which Mirzā's prompt reply was 'they keep moustaches like the Afghān king.' The author of *S. S.* thinks the repartee to be the main reason of Islām Shāh's displeasure with the Mirzā.

¹ *G. H. N.* says that Islām Shāh did not want to help the Mirzā against his own elder brother and that his real intentions were to destroy him. *I. N.* says that Islām Shāh had given a slave girl to the Mirzā to act as a spy on him and give every information to the Afghān king. Actually the girl became attached to the Mirzā and warned him against the Afghān king.

² *S. S.* relates how Shāh Muḥammad Farmulī while engaged in a game of chess warned the Mirzā of his danger.

³ It looks like Shivājī's escape. Yusuf *Āstābchī* put on the Mirzā's sleeping suit and thus impersonating him lay on his bed allowing his master to get away in a woman's veil. *G. H. N.* says that the Mirzā effected his escape without the knowledge of his men, many of whom were punished by Islām Shāh for their master's escape.

at Parhāla¹ and in their honour merry festivity lasted throughout the night. The king received the Mirzā cordially, gave him a seat on his right, presented him a portion of his water-melon to eat, other pieces being at the same time given to Akbar, Mīr Shāh Abul Ma‘ālī, Tardī Bēg and Sultān Ādam. After three days the question of Kāmrān’s punishment came up. Humāyūn as usual desired to deal leniently with the captive but the nobles would not listen and insisted on capital punishment. They threatened that they would otherwise leave his service and become recluses in order to protect themselves against the Mirzā’s fury and revenge. In fact they dramatically unloosened their belts and surrendered the swords to the king.² But he would in no circumstances agree to the extreme punishment both because his own nature revolted against the sentence and, because of his dying father’s admonitions not to injure his brothers.³ The officials again affirmed their considered opinions and in order to strengthen their hands obtained the legal decree of the law-officers, so that the whole of the political, judicial and religious bodies brought before the king a paper signed ‘by the great of the realm and religion’ and the king, hoping for some way out of his difficulties sent the paper on to the Mirzā for his perusal. Seeing no other solution of the difficulty, he at last hit upon

¹ *A. N.*, *I. N.*, *T. Kb. T.*, and *Bad. B. B. T. H. B.* calls it Birhāla, *T. Sb.* Harshāla and *R. T.* Barnāla. The meeting place of the two brothers was settled and the king after the interview returned with the Mirzā as his captive. *Jauhar* says that the king had to move on thrice before Kāmrān actually came and met him.

² *I. N.*

³ *Kb. T.* *Jauhar* who was sent immediately afterwards to render service to the Mirzā, was asked by the latter about his fate. The *Āftābchī*’s reply was that since the king was a humane person, he would deal generously with him.

the compromise of sparing the Mirzā's life by blinding his eyes, thus incapacitating him from any further mischief. 'Alī Dōst Bārbēgī¹ was entrusted with the operation. When he approached the Mirzā, the latter was frightened and thought that the man had come to put him to death. Even when assured that his life would be spared and only the operation of blinding was to be performed he was not soothed but rolling his handkerchief into a ball in an impotent rage flung it into the attendant's face who was to hold him during the operation. The Mirzā was taken out of his tent and was made to lie down with a man sitting upon his knees. The lancet was next applied to his eyes at least fifty times and then salt was sprinkled on the wound, end of the year 960 A.H. (November 1553).² The Mirzā uttered no word except to the man who was still sitting upon his knees and causing him much needless pain. But the sprinkling of the salt heightened the agony and the Mirzā in an extreme anguish now cried out, 'O, God whatever sin I had committed in this world has been amply punished. Now I may hope for something better in the next world.' Then the Mirzā was taken to Mīr Qāsim Kōhbar's tent and was placed there temporarily. The king having done with the Kāmrān affair wished to go to Kashmir but was prevailed upon to return to Kabul. Kāmrān was very unwilling to be carried in such a helpless condition to the city where he had on so many occasions ruled as king, and so when

¹ *Jauhar* and B. B. T. H. B. call him Ghulām 'Alī. According to the latter, Ghulām 'Alī was to perform the operation on one eye and Sayyid Muḥammad Pakna on the other. *Jauhar* mentions both Ghulām 'Alī and 'Alī Dōst and indicates that they are two different persons engaged in the same task along with himself. T. Sb. and I. N. mention Ghulām 'Alī, 'Alī Dōst and Sayyid Muḥammad Pakna.

² M. R., 600-1, *Far.*, 241, and I. N.

“Whatever reaches my heart from thee is acceptable
Be it the arrow of oppression or the dagger of
cruelty.”

Then he continued to reiterate that whatever had befallen him was due to his own evil deeds¹ and that he richly deserved it. The king was greatly affected, cried aloud and protested that all that had happened did not come of the king's free will and that he was in fact ashamed of his actions,² and afterwards read the first chapter of the *Qurān* in the Mirzā's company. When the latter had commended his children and other relations to the king's care Humāyūn took leave. Now that the king had departed and Kāmrān was left to himself, he gave vent to his pent-up grief and broke into loud lamentations. Kāmrān next asked of the king the services of Bēg Mūlūk in his pilgrimage. This was granted but the Bēg, having started on the journey in the Mirzā's company, changed his mind after a few stages and returned. The king was at first furious with the Bēg but afterwards his kindly nature forgave him and he was restored to favour. The general public, however, continued to treat him with contempt. Chalma Kōka, on the other hand, who was in prince Akbar's service and as such had nothing to do with Kāmrān when asked by the king whether he would care to accompany the Mirzā, agreed out of pity for the blind helpless prince and thus sacrificed his own political career. The heartbroken Mirzā lived only four years in his exile. Attended by Māh-chūchak Bēgam, the daughter of Mirzā Shāh Husain, who could not be persuaded to stay behind, he reached Macca, performed three pilgrimages and died

¹ For the full speech see *A. N.*, 330.

² *I. N.*

there on the eleventh of *Zulhijj*, 964 A.H. (October 5, 1557) in his forty-ninth year.¹ The chronogram of his death is given by شاه مرحوم در مکه ماند 'The late king resided in Macca.'²

After despatching the Mirzā to his pilgrimage, the king moved on to Bekrām, the modern Peshawar, thoroughly rebuilt it and then passed on to Kabul which he reached in the beginning of 961 A.H. (December 1553). When the Bēgams of the royal palace assembled to rejoice at his safe return, the king observed that the injury to Kāmran had affected him as if he had blinded himself with his own hand.³

We would close the chapter with the following observations: (a) Humāyūn who was an active soldier in his youth and had taken a prominent part in the battles of Pānipat and Fathpūr Sikrī, had after a lapse regained his vigour during his Kabul campaigns against Kāmran Mirzā. His unusual sloth at the end of the Gujrāt campaign and unconcerned repose throughout his stay in Bengal are a mystery. But between 1545 and 1553 except in the battle of Qibchāq, he was uniformly successful and for his defeat at Qibchāq, the treachery of his nobles, Qarācha Khān, Muṣāhib Bēg and Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān, was responsible and not any shortcomings on his own part. For, so far as he was concerned he had fought valiantly and on one occasion had continued the contest even when his horse had fallen and he had himself been grievously wounded. Moreover, in his actual conduct

¹ A. N. S. S. and Bad. I. N. and M. A. state that he died on the fifteenth of *Zulhijj* or October 9.

² Many writers have wrongly given another chronogram, بادشاه کامران بکعبه مرده This does not give 964 A. H.

³ A. H. G. Vol. III, 1053.

of the various campaigns he strikes the reader as a better soldier than his opponents.

(b) Equally in prosperity as in adversity, Humāyūn looks a regal personage above all petty meanness or personal prejudices. This is best illustrated by his treatment of his brothers. Ever since the battle of Qanauj, Kāmrān Mirzā rendered him no aid whatsoever and when during his retreat from Lahore, he desired to repair to Kabul, the Mirzā had vehemently opposed his wishes. Again when during his retreat from Sind he wished to go to Qandahār, 'Askarī by his hostility had driven him to Īrān. Supposing the king had fallen into Kāmrān's or 'Askarī's hand, it is easy to believe that either of the hard-hearted Mirzās would have had no hesitation in doing away with him. When the king after his return from Īrān, regained Qandahār and Kabul, he forgot all his previous injuries and dealt with Kāmrān (and also with 'Askarī) in a large-hearted manner. Even when compelled by the united representation of the *'ulamā* and the amirs for a capital punishment for Kāmrān, he made a compromise by exiling him. Writers have generally put down this trait in Humāyūn as a weakness. If it was so it was the weakness of a humane person, who remembered his dead father's last words and so wanted to give further opportunities to his brothers for mending their ways. The king's meeting with Kāmrān at Ishkānish in August 1548 was a sight for the gods to see and a striking example of his magnanimity towards his perverse brother.

(c) The king's relations with Sulaimān Mirzā, his wife, Haram Bēgam, and their son, Ibrāhīm Mirzā, may also be touched. In his ambition for conquests towards the north, the king had unwittingly trodden upon Sulaimān's ancestral rights and had taken away Badakhshān from

him. When immediately after Kāmrān rose in rebellion, he realized his mistake and rectified the error by restoring to Sulaimān Mīrzā his lands. Ever afterwards Sulaimān Mīrzā remained staunch in his loyalty to the king and spurned at Kāmrān's offer of alliance. In the midst of so many desertions, it is a relief to see at least one steady supporter of Humāyūn and his cause. Sulaimān Mīrzā was later on amply repaid; for when in Akbar's reign he lost the whole of his territory to the Uzbeks, he was cordially welcomed to the Mughal court and made one of the premier noblemen with a rank of 7000.

(d) Humāyūn who had looked more like an impractical philosopher than an active king in India, wins back the historian's esteem by his energetic campaignings of this period. Though he did not completely abandon his role of lenity and occasionally lapsed into the saintly practice of forgiving the sinners, he more often dealt severely with the deserters and traitors, *e.g.*, with Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā, Shēr Afgan, Ḥājī Muḥammad. Another illustration is his treatment of the refractory Afghāns. They were so thoroughly shaken by the destruction of their villages and enslavement of their women that they hastened to withdraw their support from Kāmrān and abandoned him to his fate. The day-to-day campaign against these warlike Afghāns speaks much of the king's hardihood as of his political acumen. Later, Akbar or still later, Aurangzīb had enormous difficulties in dealing with the same people.

It is also pleasing to note that the king possessed in himself the elements of a constitutional king and very often had carried his *'ulamā* and nobles with him in his measures, *e.g.* foundation of Dīn-panāh, and had agreed to circumscribe his prerogatives by the united will of his

nobility.

(e) It was while engaged in his campaign against the Mirzā that he first noticed the possibility of an Indian conquest. While passing through the eastern Afghānistān and the western Punjab in pursuit of his brother, he had perceived the lawless condition of those regions. A similar state of disorder existed in Kashmir since Haidar Mirzā's death in 1549. Hence he abandoned the Central Asian project and concentrated his attention upon India. So long as Kāmrān was in opposition, it was not possible for him to embark on an Indian campaign. When the Mirzā had left the scene, he got ready. Fortunately his task was now rendered easier by the death of Islām Shāh who according to A. Fazl died in October 1543. Disorderliness prevailed in the Afghān kingdom and his road lay clear for an advance on Delhi and Agra.

(f) Humāyūn once more demonstrates his failure as a practical statesman. We have seen how he had rejected Bahādur Shāh's proposal of a partition of his kingdom, Bahādur Shāh retaining Gujrāt and surrendering Mālwa to the Mughals. We have also seen him go back upon Shēr Khān's offer of the surrender of Bihār, retaining Bengal only for himself. The result on either occasion is well-known: the Mughals lost Gujrāt and Mālwa as well as Bihār and Bengal. Similarly in March 1549, he rejected the suggestion of Pīr Muḥammad Khān's tutor that the Balkh territory, might be partitioned, Humāyūn acquiring the district south of the river Khulm and Pīr Muḥammad the regions north of it. The partition might have enabled the king to befriend the Uzbeks and earn fame as a statesman which might have proved an asset in his later dealings with his brother. With singular shortsightedness, he closed his eyes to his permanent gains

or to the limitations of his situation, but like the foolish man of the story aspired to grasp the whole (Central Asia) or nothing at all and it is no surprise that he achieved nothing at all in this direction.

CHAPTER XIV

HUMĀYŪN'S INVASION OF INDIA, CONQUEST OF THE PUNJAB AND OCCUPATION OF DELHI—NOVEMBER 1554—JULY 1555

With Kāmṛān's loss of sight at the end of November, 1553, strifes and disorders ended in Humāyūn's kingdom. His other brothers had been dealt with by this time and most of his disaffected nobles had also disappeared. It is true that a few of those like Bāpūs Bēg and Muṣāḥib Bēg who had once been traitors still remained. But a salutary change to severity on the part of the king had inhibited their desire for treachery and we do not hear of any further revolt or desertion in Humāyūn's reign.

Before starting on an Indian campaign, he thought of going to Qandahār to bring along with him his able and loyal deputy, Bairam Khān. We have seen the latter return to Humāyūn in Sind when Shēr Shāh had done all in his power to wean him away from the Mughal cause. His services in Īrān and his negotiations with the Shāh for an expeditionary force were unforgettable and now in Qandahār he was doing yeoman service in strengthening the bond between the Mughals and the Īrānīs. Humāyūn had correctly gauged the worth of this Shī'a nobleman and in a moment of appreciation had exclaimed that he would not care for the hostility of both the worlds—this and the next—if his friend Bairam Khān remained loyal to his cause.¹ Recently some of the malicious per-

¹ The words in Persian are

دوست گر دوست شود هر دو جهان دشمن باش

sons had referred to the frequent absences of the Khān¹ when the king was struggling against his brother, Kāmrān; but they forgot that the reasons for the absences were, first that the deputy could not leave his post without his master's command or permission and secondly, Bairam Khān had rightly gauged the popularity and strength of his master as against the bigoted and tyrannous Kāmrān Mirzā. The king knew that the calumny was unfounded, still with a view to removing the suspicion of the Khān's disloyalty from the minds of his courtiers, he proceeded to Qandahār. Prince Akbar who now generally accompanied his father, went as far as his *jāgīr* in Ghaznī² and then returned. Bairam Khān received his master at Shōrandām, some ten *farsang*,³ north of Qandahār. The Khān who was not only able, but rich and generous as well, was extravagant in entertaining the king and held splendid festivities to which were invited also the chief nobles that had accompanied the king. The king had felt the severity of winter in Kabul and so passed it in the warmer regions of Qandahār.⁴ This was agreeable to the Khān also, for he and the king loved to be in each other's company and to dwell on some intellectual or religious topic. Not only were the king's expenses met from Bairam Khān's treasury and the *qamargāh* hunts arranged for his pleasure but also his followers were billeted at the houses of the Shī'a nobleman's retainers. The Khān appears to have also satisfied his master's reli-

Far., 241 states that at one time the king had actually some doubts about Bairam Khān's loyalty, fearing that he had already turned or would soon turn to the Shī'a Shāh of Īrān.

¹ *A. N.*, *I. N.*, *Bad.*, 455 and *Far.*, 241.

² *A. N.* and *I. N.*

³ One *farsang* measures 18,000 ft.

⁴ *I. N.* and *M. R.*

gious yearnings by arranging for the latter's interviews with the renowned local saint, Maulānā Zainuddīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar, designated by Badāūnī as 'the fruit of the saints, extract of the Upright, the termination of the Naqshbandī saints.'¹ The king played a humble role during his visits to the Kamāngar, helping the saint and his disciple to wash their hands by holding the ewer. Also in gratitude for the spiritual pleasure he sent monetary gifts to the saint which the latter returned by a present of a number of bows made by himself.

The king had an unpleasant shock from Mīr Shāh Abul Ma'ālī whom, in appreciation of his beauty and symmetry of limbs he had designated his son.² Abul Ma'ālī was a bigoted Sunnī and more than once had spilt the blood of an innocent Shī'a. The first of these murders occurred now. He killed Shēr 'Alī Bēg, the father of the king's Mīr-i-shikār, out of mere religious spite. The king who had a soft corner for his favourite, overlooked the crime and let him go unpunished.

Having satisfied himself and his nobles about the loyalty of Bairam Khān, the king retained him in Qandahār, and was supported in this action by Mun'im who remarked that since ultimately Qandahār was to be transferred to the Shāh of Īrān, it was politic to entrust it till

¹ *Bad.*, gives his life in detail. Originally an Īrānī having been born in Khurāsān, he was a disciple of Maulavī Maḥdūm 'Ārif Jāmī and counted Bairam Khān among his disciples. He used to earn his livelihood by making bows and arrows.

² *B. B. T. H. B.* gives two examples of the king's special regard for him. Once when his nobles wanted him to start on his journey, he paid no heed to them but continued to enjoy Mīr Shāh Abul Ma'ālī's company in seclusion. Again, when, Bayazīd brought some apple and grapes for the king, the latter gave one portion to Akbr and another to Mīr Shāh Abul Ma'ālī.

that time to Bairam Khān.¹

At the Khān's suggestion, the neighbouring Zamīn-dāwar was transferred to Bahādur Khān from the bigoted and crazy Khwāja Muazzam. On the king's return journey from Qandahār, Bairam accompanied him at first but was ordered to go back and return quickly with a contingent, the king meanwhile waiting for him in Ghaznī. The Khān made such haste in his preparations that on the second of *Shawwāl*, 961 A.H. (August 31, 1554), he joined his master at Ghaznī. The king in appreciation of Bairam Khān's zeal ordered for a second entertainment more splendid than the one on the previous 'Id day.² It was highly flattering to Bairam Khān who repaid the honour by an unflinching zeal for his master's cause. The whole party now moved on to Kabul about the end of 961 A.H. (October 1554)³. Here the king received the welcome news of Islām Shah's death and also an invitation from the Indian nobles to invade India and reoccupy his lost dominions.⁴ Since he had been meditating for some time on the prospects of an Indian invasion, the meditation now took a more tangible shape.

Before taking up the king's actual invasion, it would be profitable to deal briefly with the Sūrī rulers of Delhi.

After defeating Humāyūn at the battle of Chausa, 1539, Shēr Khān had become king of Bengal and a year later, when the Mughal chief was defeated at the battle of

¹ *B. B. T. II. B.* At one time the king seems to have thought of replacing Bairam Khān by Mun'im Khān. According to *Far.*, anxious to be in the king's company, Bairam Khān himself had suggested the substitution of Mun'im Khān for himself but to this the king did not agree.

² *M. R.*, 602.

³ *A. N.* and *I. N.*

⁴ *Far.* and *N. M.*

Qanauj, he became the ruler of Delhi. Shēr Shāh ruled for five years, and is considered to-day one of the most successful rulers of India. He died on May 22, 1545 and was succeeded by his second son, Islām Shāh, who ruled for nine years. He has also been placed among the great rulers of Mediaeval India. Even A. Fazl, a Mughal historian and hence bitterly hostile to the Afghān rulers² is constrained to put in for Shēr Shāh and Islām Shāh the following halting encomium, 'If these two had been servants of the sublime threshold of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh and if the home administration had been entrusted to the father, and the guardianship of the marches to the son, they would have been encompassed with royal favours and have gained, by good service, an existence which the wise regard as real life. Such workers deserved such a master.'³

Islām Shāh kept alive many of the regulations and institutions of his father, e.g., the spy system, the extension of roads and sarais, the maintenance of an efficient army and the erection of strong forts on the frontier and in the interior, e.g., Mānkōt and Salīngarh. But there was one great difference between Shēr Shāh and Islām Shāh. The former was the beloved of the Afghān nobility and the soldiery; the latter was hated and dreaded by them. This was due to the respective attitudes of the two rulers towards their subjects. Shēr Shāh had once more made the Afghāns a ruling body and this he had done by pursuing a steady

¹ Akbar to some extent had disappointed his Muslim subjects by his vagaries but Shēr Shāh had pleased all classes of his subjects, the Afghāns, the non-Afghān Muslims and the Hindus.

² So hostile that he had denied the royal title of Sultān or Shāh to any of them. He is content to call them Khāns.

³ A. N. (Tr.), 618.

policy of organization and orderly government. The nobles had the fullest trust in his lead and were grateful to him for all that he had done for them. In fact it may be said that like Ranjīt Singh, Shēr Shāh always had his own way because first, he was a wise administrator and his proposals were highly beneficial to his community and secondly, he always consulted his nobles who generally accepted his plans and supported his lead. Islām Shāh was occupied in the task of uprooting the Afghān nobility and in increasing his own despotism. To give the names of a few of his relations and of the nobles that were killed, exiled or imprisoned by him: his own elder brother, ‘Ādil Khān and younger brother, Jalāl Khān, Qutb Khān Sūr, Barmazīd Khān Sūr and Kamāl Khān Sūr, Zain Khān Niāzī, Sa‘īd Khān Niāzī, and Shams Khān Niāzī, Shāhbāz Khān Nuhānī, Barmazīd Khān Gaur, Dāūd Khān, Khawās Khān, ‘Īsā Khān Niāzī and Sujā‘at Khān. This wholesale destruction was intended to lessen the democratic element in the Afghān polity and to increase his autocracy. As was inevitable it sapped the very foundations of the state. The Afghāns were till recently in a tribal stage in which the elders of the families, villages, districts, and tribes together managed the affairs of the state, the ruler being merely the *primus inter pares*. Shēr Shāh by his superior ability had usurped the direction of affairs. Islām Shāh by his vigilance and severity had maintained the efficiency of his administration and we are told by Badāūnī that even in the farthest villages of his kingdom, a *darbār* was held every Friday when a slipper of the king was placed on the throne to represent the king and the royal regulations were read to the people. The observance of so much form must have had a debasing effect on the people in

general and the Afghān nobility in particular.

Islām Shāh had other grave defects:

(1) Even those nobles that were favoured by him lost some of their privileges, e.g., they had to surrender their war elephants and their *jāgīrs*, being paid in future in cash. On a slight excuse sometimes the whole tribe was wiped out, e.g., the Niāzīs.

(2) Under his instructions, the soldiers' salaries were always left in arrears, probably with a view to preventing desertion. The object might have been gained but at the cost of contentment. The discontent ultimately led to disorder and destruction.

(3) As against the chaste life of his father, we are told of Islām Shāh doting on his male beloved, Daulat Khān Ujiālā.¹ Islām Shāh loved him so intensely that Ni'mat-ullāh, the author of *Makbẓan-i-Afāghina*, says that 'his last days when he frequently lost his senses were spent in constantly gazing at Daulat Khān Ujiālā till life was exact.'²

Let us also refer to the Sūr policy towards the Mughals. Here he continued his father's policy. In his earlier days Shēr Shāh while doing all he could to promote the welfare of his countrymen, had studiously avoided as long as possible coming into an open clash with the Mughal king of Delhi, so much so that at one time he had been accused of being pro-Mughal and anti-Afghān. In Bābur's reign he had waited on him, in Humāyūn's reign he had taken no

¹ Daulat Khān Ujiālā was an adopted son of Shujā'at Khān and though he possessed no allowances he had been promoted by Islām Shāh to such a rank that he could, without the king's previous consent, draw at any time a hundred thousand rupees upon the state treasury.

² See *Dorn*, 170.

part in the battle of Dadra and later on held Chunār as a vassal of the Mughal king of Delhi. At the same time he was a true patriot and when he got his opportunity, he rallied the Afghāns, defended their cause against the Mughal attacks in Bihār and Bengal and later on, managed to shift the zone of the Mughal war from Bengal and Bihār to the Doāb of Hindustān and still later, after a victory at Qanauj deprived Humāyūn of his throne of Delhi and also of his northern province of the Punjab. Here Shēr Shāh had stopped short in his triumphs against the Mughals. His instructions to his generals were to keep the Mughal king always on the move and to drive him out of the Sūrī kingdom by a steady pursuit and a threat of capture. When Humāyūn lingered in Sind, Shēr Shāh took no notice of him and when the Mughal chief went to the Rāthōr chief, Māldēo, Shēr Shāh allowed the former to retire but destroyed the Rājput chief. Kāmrān who had desired to possess the Punjab, was warned to keep himself clear of it but his territories in Kabul and Qandahār were never disturbed. It is apparent that if Shēr Shāh had so desired, with his adherents among the Afghāns of India and Afghānistān,¹ he might have dispossessed Kāmrān of his territories and thus deprived the Mughals of their future base for an advance into India.

Let us now turn to Islām Shāh. After coming to the throne he continued his father's policy and left Kāmrān free at Kabul. But within a few months of his accession, Humāyūn captured Qandahār and in a year or so occupied Kabul also. Since he had obtained aid from the Shāh of Irān, the political situation had somewhat altered.

¹ Many of the latter obtained stipends or allowances from Islām Shāh and attended his court at regular intervals to get the renewals of their grants.

yūn advanced beyond the Indus and received Kāmrān at Parhāla, it was only then that Islām Shāh made a hostile demonstration. Generally he contented himself by pursuing his policy of severity towards the Gakhars and in order to strengthen this policy meditated a transfer of the headquarters of the Punjab from Lahore to Mānkōt.

Kāmrān escaped before Islām Shāh had definitely decided to make a captive of the Mirzā and utilize him later on in his negotiations with the Mughals and Islām Shāh died within a few months of Kāmrān's escape. So long as Islām Shāh was alive, Humāyūn dared not cross the Jhelam; for when once at Kāmrān's request he had crossed the Indus to meet him, he hurriedly recrossed it on a report that Islām Shāh was coming by forced marches to meet him.

The tranquillity that prevailed in the kingdom of Shēr Shāh and of his successor, Islām Shāh is an eloquent testimony to the correctness of their foreign policy.

With the death of Islām the iron-fisted rebellion broke out everywhere. The discontented nobility who in their hearts had cursed the destructive policy of the late king, now broke loose and chose any leader that they could get hold of. As *Dorn* expresses it, 'from country to country, from town to town, all was put in a state of rebellion.'¹ Actually within a few weeks of Islām Shāh's death, at least four Afghān chiefs, all belonging to the Sūr family, Mubāriz Khān, Aḥmad Khān, Ibrāhīm Khān and Muḥammad Khān competed with one another for kingship in North India.

The first, Mubāriz Khān, was the brother of Bībī Bāi, the queen of Islām Shāh. When the late king was

¹ P. 172. *I. N.*, *M. J. N.* and *Kb. T.* state the whole situation in a single sentence در هندوستان ملوک طوائف شد

striking at most of his important nobles, he had desired to kill Mubārīz Khān also, but from a different motive altogether. The powerful nobles were destroyed in the interest of the state which Islām wished to make more autocratic. Mubārīz Khān was not distinguished by any political or administrative acumen. He was an idiotic voluptuary, interested in wine, music, song, dancing, and women and thus passed his time in frivolities.¹ But Islām Shāh who had no regard for any one who stood in the path of his son's prospects, thought Mubārīz Khān to be a thorn in the side of his infant son, Fīrūz Khān. Hence his anxiety to kill him but Bībī Bāi, who had in Mubārīz Khān an only brother, would not agree. Within three days of Islām Shāh's death Mubārīz murdered Fīrūz and ascended the throne under the title of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh. The earlier frivolities of the new king gave no prospect of vigorous rule and nobles revolted everywhere. The most important of them were:

(a) Aḥmad Khān, the governor of the Punjab, who styled himself Sultān Sikandar Shāh.²

¹ Hence he was called عیسیٰ or feaster. See *T. Kb. T.*

² The genealogy of the Sūr competitors may be given here.

Ibrāhīm Sūr

Hasan 'Khān.

Ghāzī 'Khān.

Shēr 'Shāh Nizām 'Khān

Sikandar 'Shāh

Ibrāhīm Shāh

Islām 'Shāh = Bībī Bāi

Mubārīz Khān

daughter

daughter

|
Fīrūz Shāh

married to
Ibrāhīm
Shāh

married to
Sikandar
Shāh.

T. Sb. calls Aḥmad Khān, Maṣṣūr Khān.

(b) Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of Ghāzī Khān Sūr, the governor of Biāna and Hindustān. Like Sikandar Shāh, he had married another sister of Bībī Bāi and now when his father owing to his old age, declined the contest for kingship, Ibrāhīm came forward as a rival for the throne.

(c) Muḥammad Khān Sūr, a near relation of Shēr Shāh who rose in Bengal and called himself Sulṭān Jalālud-dīn.

(d) Bāz Bahādur, son of Shujā‘at Khān, late governor of Mālwa, who declared himself king.

(e) Tāj Khān Kīrarānī who also rose in rebellion.

Before describing the civil war among these competitors, we would make a reference to Hīmū, Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh’s chief minister. He was originally a lowly shopkeeper of Riwārī, belonging to the Dhusar tribe selling saltpetre¹ in some obscure lane of Delhi and rose by his ability step by step to the chief ministership.² His ability and Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh’s frivolous pursuits and also the Afghān king’s distrust of his nobles³ had thrown all power into the hands of the minister who with all his bodily infirmities and without being a rider⁴ or a soldier conducted his government and carried on his military campaigns with marked distinction. The proud Afghān nobles, though they sometimes chafed under his guidance, recognized his ability and munificence and willingly carried out his orders.⁵

¹ *T. Sh.*, 282 says that he was originally a measurer of grain.

² All the Mughal writers, speak ill of Hemu, it seems, out of sheer prejudice.

³ *T. Sh.*, 282 says that ‘Ādil Shāh killed Daulat Khān Niāzī and Fīrūz Khān Kakkar in spite.

⁴ *Kb. T.*

⁵ An example may be given : When ‘Ādil Shāh’s general, Dāūd Khān was defeated, Hīmū was sent. He won a victory with the aid

Undismayed by the simultaneous rise of a number of the nobles, Hīmū set out to meet them one after the other. He first crushed Tāj Khān Kīrarānī at Chibramau and Chunār, the latter escaping to Bengal; next he sent 'Īsa Khān Niāzī to fight against Ibrāhīm Khān. The battle was fought at Kalpī, 1554 ending in a victory for Ibrāhīm. As Hīmū and his master were engaged elsewhere Ibrāhīm rapidly went westward, occupied Agra and Delhi, ascended the throne and assumed the title of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh. 'Ādil Shāh now roused from torpor, stopped from the pursuit of Tāj Khān Kirarānī and turned against Ibrāhīm. The latter dreading the result of a battle, agreed to negotiate and when 'Ādil Shāh sent a number of his principal nobles to discuss the terms of settlement, they all went over to the enemy. 'Ādil Shāh in his prudence, retired once more to Chunār and concentrated on the retention of the territories east of the Ganges together with Bihār.

Ibrāhīm Shāh was not left long in peace. Aḥmad Khān, the governor of the Punjab, now rose in rebellion (1555), took the title of Sikandar Shāh and advanced with ten or twelve thousand followers to wrest the two capitals from Ibrāhīm. The latter had seventy or eighty thousand well-equipped soldiers and a large number of Afghān officers, at the sight of which, Sikandar Shāh, intimidated, proposed peace on terms of partition, each retaining the territories he possessed and of combination of their forces against the Mughal invaders of the Punjab.

of his Afghān officers. See *T. Sh.*, 285-9, *M. J. N.* and *M. A.* I do not think there is any basis of Badāūnī's statement in Vol. II, 15 that the Afghāns hated him and prayed for his destruction. If they had so desired, they might have gone over to any of the rival claimants for kingship.

Ibrāhīm Shāh elated at his large following rejected the offer, but on the battlefield of Farra, ten *cōs* from Agra¹ was defeated and driven away, finally escaping to Sambhal. Sikandar made himself master of Agra and Delhi and the Afghān nobles with a united voice made him their king. Sikandar now ruled over a territory that stretched from the Indus to the Ganges.

Hemu was unable to proceed in person or along with his master against Ibrāhīm because he had to face a new rebellion in Bengal where Muḥammad Khān Sūr had declared himself king under the title of Jalāluddīn Shah. Hīmū met him near Chapparghata, defeated and killed him. Muḥammad's death did not put an end to the disturbance; for Khizr Khān, Muḥammad Shāh's son, ascended the throne of Bengal under the title of Sūltān Bahādur Shāh.

Let us now turn to Humāyūn. He rejoiced when he heard of all these disturbances in India.² He took an omen from Ḥafiz's dīwān and alighted on the couplet:

دولت از مرغ هایون طلب و سایه او زآنکه با زانغ و زغن شهر دولت نبود

“Seek dominion from the blessed (Humāyūn) bird
(i.e., hūmā) and its shadow,
For with the crow and the kite is not the eagle of the
dominions.”³

¹ I. N. says it is situated on the outskirts of Agra and T. Kh. T. makes it 7 *cōs* from Agra.

² M. R. rejoices that a civil war was raging among the Afghāns and quotes the couplets:

چو دشمن بدشمن شود مستقل تو خوش باش و بنشین بآرام دل
چو در لشکر دشمن افتد خلاف تو بگذار شمشیر کین در غلاف

³ M. R. has *دولت* for *هست*. The Bankipore Khudābakhsh Library possesses this unique copy of the dīwān. On fol. 676 Humāyūn

which promised him by name a kingdom. He also drew a favourable omen from the invitation of ‘Abdullāh Sulṭān-pūrī who had sent him a pair of boots and a whip inviting him quickly to ride on to India. In order to propitiate the Fates, he resolved to release all the captives in the coming campaign and vowed not to take meat till the end of the campaign. Leaving behind Mun‘im Khān as his deputy and Walī Bēg as foster-father to Muḥammad Ḥakīm, he started from Kabul accompanied by Akbar in the middle of *Zulhijj*, 961 (November 12, 1554)¹ with 3000 followers² and a number of entertainers.³ For the present Bairam Khān remained behind. At Jūi-Shāhī he took a boat and glided down the Kabul river to Bīkrām (Peshawar) reaching there at the end of *Muḥarram*, 962 (December 25, 1554). Sikandar Khān Uzbek, one of his energetic officers, joined him there. On the 5th of *Ṣafar*

has the following note in his own handwriting:

..... از دیوان حافظ این شاه بیت آمد و چندین بار ابیات مناسب آمده که اگر شرح آنها شود کتابی شود انشا الله تعالی چون فتح ولایات شرقی و مبارزان آن دیار بامر کردگار شود نذر خوبی بخواجه لسان الغیب فرستاده شود و جمع آن تفاللات نیز رقم کرده شود بیمنه و توفیقه - شب دو شنبه هیجدهم ذی حجه سنه ۹۶۲ در شهر دین پناه تحریر یافت و السلام -

There are further notes in Humāyūn's handwriting on fol. 38 a stating that the couplet

بیا که رأیت منصور پادشاه رسید نوید فتح و بشارت بمهر و ماه رسید

had on several occasions served as a good omen.

¹ *Far.* makes Humāyūn start from Kabul in *Ṣafar*, 962 (December 26-January 23). The mountain passes would then remain closed owing to the fall of snow.

² *A. N.*, *I. N.*, *N. M.*, *Kb. T.*, *A. N.*, *B. B. T. H. B.* and several others give a long list of Humāyūn's officers. *R. A. T.* exaggerates the king's followers as greater in number than the rain drops and beyond all count. *Far. L. T.* and *S. S.* put the number at 15,000 and *M. J. N.* and *M. A.* make it 3,000 when the king crossed the Indus.

³ A list of musicians and instrumentalists is given by *B. B. T. H. B.*

he reached the Indus and halted for three days in order to allow Bairam to join him with 5000 troops. While staying there, he got the news that Tātār Khān Kāshī, appointed commandant of Rohtās¹ by Sikandar Shāh, had fled in terror of the Mughal advance. Sultān Ādam Gakhar was invited to join the Mughals but he declined as he had made peace with Sikandar Shāh and had given his son, Lashkarī, as hostage. So the king left him alone and continued to advance till he reached Parhāla and further east.² Like his great ancestor, Tīmūr, he was following a more northern route skirting the lower hills of the Siwālīks and avoiding broad rivers arrived at Kālānūr.³ There he organized his army in three divisions, keeping one with himself at Kālānūr, sending forward the second under Shahābuddīn Khān⁴ and Farhat Khān to Lahore and forwarding the third and a much larger division under select generals like Bairam Khān, Tardī Bēg Khān, Sikandar Khān, Khizr Khān Hazārā against Naṣīb Khān Panj Bhaiya, an Afghān general stationed at Hariāna.⁵ Shahābuddīn reached Lahore, read *khutba* and stamped coins in his master's name and afforded protection to the inhabitants of the city. The king himself reached there on the second of *Rabī'ul-ākhīr* (February 24, 1555) and met 'Abdullāh Sulṭānpūrī⁶ and Miān Hajī Maḥdī, two of the learned men of

¹ Situated 10 miles n.-w. of Jhelam town.

² *Jauhar* gives many minor details.

³ In Gurdāspūr district. It is famous for Akbar's enthronement.

⁴ His name is inscribed on the *Khair-ul-manāzil* building close to the Purāna Qal'a.

⁵ An unidentified place.

⁶ 'Abdullāh was the *muftī* or expounder of Law at Lahore and according to *M. A.* was considered so important a personage that though Islām Shāh called him the fifth son of Bābur and utterly disliked him, he could not do without him. *M. A.* also refers to the grant of a rosary and 20,000 rupees to him by the Afghān king.

Lahore, separately, as they had differences among themselves and appointed officers for the realization of revenue from the different districts of the province, Jauhar getting the charge of Haibatpūr *pargana*. When Jauhar reached his *pargana* he found that many of the Afghān tenants had mortgaged their children to the Hindu money-lenders. Since they had no other way to redeem the children, Jauhar found money by digging up the abandoned Afghān barns and selling the corn thereof. The king was pleased with Jauhar's measure and rewarded him with Tātār Khān's treasure. In March, hearing of a disturbance caused by an Afghān named Shāhbāz Khān, he sent a contingent from his own division under Mīr Shāh Abul Ma'ālī and 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī (later granted the title of Khān Zamān). The Mughals met Shāhbāz at Dipālpūr and in spite of the fact that the latter was accompanied by another noted Afghān general, Naṣīr Khān and his 12,000 followers¹ gained a victory, mainly due to the exertions of 'Alī Qulī Khān. Because the king had taken an oath not to keep any prisoners, all the captives were released and the contingent having accomplished its work joined the king.

In the meantime Bairam Khān reached the *pargana* of Hariāna and met Naṣīb Khān who after a halting resistance fell back further east. The Mughals obtained a large booty and a number of captives. The latter were again released and sent back to Naṣīb Khān. Then Bairam advanced to Jalandhar, the Afghāns again retreating. Bairam Khān's progress now ceased for a time because of a quarrel that had sprung up between Khwāja Mu'azzam and Tardī Bēg's servant, Bāltū Khān. The matter was not settled until the king himself had written from Lahore to recon-

¹ B. B. T. H. B. makes it 20,000 followers.

cile the parties and until Bairam Khān had distributed *jā-gīrs* to appease the disputants. Sikandar Khān Uzbek, who was granted Machhiwārā¹ and was an energetic officer boldly went southwards and temporarily occupied the important station of Sirhind.² When Naṣīb Khān, Tātār Khān and the other Afghān chiefs advanced with 30,000 men to dislodge him, Sikandar fell back to Jalandhar, losing not only Sirhind but also Machhiwārā. Bairam Khān who himself was a lion-hearted soldier was displeased with Sikandar's retreat and reproved him for not making a determined stand at Sirhind and not asking for aid from him. Then the Mughals advanced to the river Satlaj in the neighbourhood of Machhiwārā. There was a difference of opinion, Tardī Bēg advising caution and a halt till the rainy season was over³ and Bairām Khān, who knew the consequence of a delay, urging an immediate advance in the face of the enemy. When Tardī Bēg, considering himself the leader of the Tūrānīs and senior to Bairām Khān in age and service, refused to give way, the latter wisely left him alone and with the help of a number of his own officers, e.g., Mullā Pīr Muḥammad, Muḥammad Qāsim Khān of Nīshāpūr, Ḥaidar Qulī Bēg Shāmlū crossed the river. Now that the difficult job of crossing a river in face of the enemy had been achieved, Tardī Bēg perforce followed. The Afghāns also now advanced and a battle seemed imminent. Bairam Khān arranged his force in four divisions, the centre being under himself, the right under Khizr Khān Hazāra, the left under Tardī Bēg⁴ and the advance-

¹ Situated on the south of Budha river, 19 miles east of Ludhiāna.

² Situated 35 miles s.-e. of Ludhiāna.

³ According to *Janbar*, the king rebuked this group for their hesitation and pointed at the glorious success of Shāh Abul Ma'ālī with his scanty troops.

⁴ Why was this slight preference shown to Khizr Khān as against

guard under Sikandar Khān Uzbek. The two forces met at sunset on May, 12, 1555,¹ and the battle raged till long past midnight. × Fortunately for the Mughals, a fire had broken out near the Afghān camp, disclosing the location of their soldiers, while the Mughals remained concealed in the darkness. The bows and arrows were now brought into operation, first by Bairām Khān and then taken up by the other Mughal officers,² causing a havoc in the Afghān camp. In the small hours of the morning, the Afghāns broke and fled. Bairām Khān occupied Sirhind the next day and while halting there required from the king a considerable reinforcement under 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī. Humāyūn recognized the eminent services of the Shī'a nobleman by conferring on him the triple distinctions of *Khān-Khānān*, *Yār-nafādār*, and *Hamdam-i-gham-gusār*³ and at the same time declared Akbar as the heir-apparent.⁴

The Mughals had now occupied about the whole of the Punjab⁵ and were only 196 miles from Delhi. Sikandar Sūr now stirred himself, collected 80,000 men and advanced to wrest Sirhind from the Mughals on April 27, 1554.⁶ He had only recently won a splendid victory with his small army against Ibrāhīm Shāh's overwhelmingly large numbers, so his reputation was high and almost all the prominent Afghān chiefs were supporting his cause. Any other officer would have quailed before such a mighty host but not so did Bairam Khān. He stuck to his post and asked

Tardī Bēg? Was it due to the latter's recent opposition?

¹ The date is calculated from the data supplied by M. R.

² *Far.*, 242.

³ *Ibid.* According to R. T. Bairam Khān was already *wakīl* or deputy of the king.

⁴ T. *Sh.* and S. *S.*

⁵ T. *Kb.* T., and *Bad.*, 460, T. *S.*, 338.

⁶ T. *Kb.* T.

his master to speedily come to his aid. The king never strong, was just then suffering from a severe attack of colic and so contented himself with sending Akbar as his representative and then on getting well speedily followed and joined Akbar in the neighbourhood of Lahore.¹ He left the administrative duties at Lahore in the hands of Farḥat Khān (*Shiqdār*), Khwāja Ṭahir Muḥammad (*Dīwān*), Bāpūs Bēg (*Faujdar*), Mirzā Shāh Sulṭān (*Amīn*), the Mih-tar Jauhar (*Khazānadār*) and himself reached Sirhind on the seventh of *Rajab*, 962 A.H. (May 28, 1555). The small Mughal army of 10,000 men,² was placed under the four commanders, Akbar, Bairam Khān, Mīr Shāh Abul Ma‘ālī, and the king himself and they stopped provisions reaching the Afghān camp. After twenty-five days of the king’s arrival, on the second of *Sha‘bān*, (June 22) a sanguinary battle took place,³ the opening being made by Akbar and his co-adjutors, Khwāja Mu‘azzam and Shamsuddīn Atka Khān against Kālā Pahār, Sikandar Shāh’s brother. The battle then spread throughout the line. At an early stage, Bairam Khān’s Irānī soldiers took fright at Sikandar Shāh’s elephants. But the commander remained firm, asked for reinforcement from his master who immediately sent Shah Abul Ma‘ālī and Tardī Bēg and the enemy was repulsed. The Afghāns had entrenched themselves⁴ but it afforded no protection against the Mughals. The latter finished the battle by a simultaneous attack from the two flanks,⁵ and the Afghāns broke and fled, Sikandar escaping to Mān-

¹ M. R., M. J. N. and N. M.

² *Jauhar* makes Sikandar Sūr to say that the Mughals consisted of only 5,000 men.

³ According to *Jauhar*, at Sikandarpūr. N. M. gives a vivid description of the oppressive heat of the day.

⁴ R. A. T.

⁵ T. Kh. T., *Far.*, 242, T. Sh., 339.

kōt and thence to the hills. The king, dismounting, offered prayers to God on the battle-field for the victory.¹ A pyramid was made of the skulls of the Afghan dead.² Bairam Khān composed the following quatrain in honour of the victory:

منشی خود طالع میمون طلبد انشای سخن ز طبع موزون طلبد
تکریر چو کرد فتح هندستان تاریخ ز شمشیر همایون طلبد

“The writer of wisdom sought the blessed horoscope,
Asked the metrically disposed for an elegant turn of
speech

When the conquest of Hindustān was recorded
They obtained the date from ‘Humāyūn’s sword.’”³

Before proceeding further with this narration, it may be profitable to compare Humāyūn’s achievement at Sirhind with Bābur’s at Pānipat.

(a) Both the commanders were, at the moment of victory, rulers of Kabul and Qandahār and had endeared themselves to their people by geniality of temperament, liberal outlook, tolerant views, and sense of justice. Both were of the same age and possessed a wide experience of the world. Both had been at one time or the other rulers of extensive domain, Bābur of Samarqand and Farghana and Humāyūn of Hindustān, Mālwa and Gujrāt and both had subsequently lost them. Both had started from Kabul for their Indian conquest and obtained help from the Afghāns of Afghānistān against an Afghān ruler of India.

(b) The condition of India in 1554 was somewhat similar to that in 1524-25. Both Sultān Ibrāhīm and Islām

¹ B. B. T. H. B. commends the bravery of Bairam Khān, Tardī Bēg, ‘Alī Qulī Khān and Khizr Khān Hazāra.

² M. R., M. J. N., and N. M.

³ The chronogram, شمشیر همایون gives 962 A. H.

Shāh were fairly energetic rulers and the ryots were prosperous in their reigns; but they both had alienated the nobility by their autocratic policy. On both the occasions there was a break-up of the kingdom leading to the separation of the governor of the Punjab from the ruler of Delhi.

(c) Both had a small army at the start of the campaign. Bābur had counted 8,000 combatants and non-combatants at Attock and Humāyūn put down his army at 3,000 when he started from Kabul or at 10,000 on the battlefield of Sirhind. Both had obtained reinforcements on the way. Still Bābur's army at Pānipat was insignificant as compared with Ibrāhīm's and Humāyūn's also bore the same proportion to Sikandar Shāh's at Sirhind. Both the leaders were eminently successful. Much of their success was due to the military superiority of the Mughal soldiers, ten of whom according to *Badāūnī*, could meet thousands of the Afghāns.¹

There were also a few differences between the two:

(a) Bābur had been invited by the disaffected Afghāns, e.g., Daulat Khān Lōdī and 'Ālam Khān 'Alāuddīn Lōdī and to that extent his task of conquest was made easy. Before he actually reached the plain of Pānipat, many prominent nobles like Mulla Mazhab and Ārāish Khān had joined him. In 1554, on the other hand, though Sikandar Shāh had separated from Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh and had taken Delhi and Agra, still he had not sided with the Mughals. Though Humāyūn had received letters of invitation from India, he had to depend almost wholly on his own resources.

(b) Bābur bore the reputation of a soldier, even though he had lost his ancestral kingdom. Humāyūn, on the other

¹ See p. 459. Though an exaggeration, it emphasizes the excellence of the Mughal soldiery.

hand, bore the calumny associated with failure, only partially redeemed by his late successes in Balkh and against Kāmrān in Kabul.

(c) Bābur was the sole controller of his army and hence there was unity of command and singleness of purpose in his military directions. In the case of Humāyūn though no doubt he was the *dē jure* commander, yet the actual director of policy was Bairam Khān and the victory of Machhiwārā was as much due to Bairam Khān's generalship as to the king's good sense. But Bairam Khān's difficulties were many. He was a Shī'a; the king, his master, was occasionally incapacitated by sickness; and his deputy, prince Akbar, was a mere boy; the Tūrks led by Tardī Bēg were opposed to him; and the favourites like Shāh Abul Ma'ālī defied and insulted him in every way. The king tried to remove the difficulties by making Akbar his deputy on the field and by conferring high titles on Bairam with a view to impressing his soldiers with his own recognition of his superior qualities.

Let us now turn to the progress of Humāyūn's campaign. We have mentioned Sikandar Shāh's escape from Sirhind. Many other Afghāns also escaped, helped by a storm and rain that raged at the time of the battle. The king's weakness was manifest as soon as the battle was over, for he sat down to decide in whose name the victory was to be proclaimed and when he found that there were two formidable claimants, one, the arrogant Mīr Shāh Abul Ma'ālī relying on the king's favour and the other Bairam Khān who had more cogent reasons for his claims, he rather weakly put aside the claims of either and recorded victory in the name of the boy-prince, Akbar. It was an unsatisfactory decision in every way as it increased the hauteur of the Shāh who boasted of his being a 'son'

to the king and damped the spirit of the ever-loyal Bairam. Due to the latter's good sense, however, no serious consequence followed.

The king now proceeded to Sirhind and on his way arrested and confined his own brother-in-law, Khwāja Mu'azzam¹ for holding communication with Sikandar Shāh. Next he turned to the south and reached Samāna.² He was now half way between Lahore and Delhi and not being sure of the fugitive, Sikandar Shāh's whereabouts, and fearing that he might swoop from the hills on Lahore at any time, he depleted his army by sending Mīr Shāh Abul Ma'ālī, Muṣāhib Bēg and others to defend the city, in case the Afghāns made a surprise attack. Further, in order to appease the Mīr for his separation from himself, he made him the governor of the whole of the Punjab. As for the king, he halted at Samāna, intending to pass the rains in the salubrious climate of the town. But Sikandar Khān Uzbek, who had been sent forward further east did his work of occupation so thoroughly that he went as far as Delhi and occupied the capital itself. The king now hastened from Samāna and reached Delhi on the first of *Ramṣān*, 962,³ (July 20, 1555), alighted at Salimgarh fort and entered the city three days later. Thus for the second time Humāyūn became the king of Delhi.⁴

We will conclude the chapter with a few general observations:

¹ Hamīda Bānū's brother.

² Situated 35 miles south of Sirhind.

³ *I. N.*, *M. R.*, *M. J. N.*, and *M. A.*, mention it as a Thursday. Actually it was a Saturday.

⁴ Humāyūn took meat after *Ramṣān* was over i.e. after a lapse of more than nine months. See *A. N.* and *T. S. Ch. Bad.* on p. 462 mentions that no other king after expulsion had regained the throne of Delhi.

(a) The sudden end to Shēr Shāh and Islām Shāh's magnificent empires speaks of the strength and the weakness of the despotic governments of the mediaeval times. So long as the ruler was good and strong, he had a tranquil and prosperous kingdom. The moment he died and was succeeded by an incompetent and tyrannical successor,¹ the peace and the security of the empire would disappear and it would soon be at the disposal of some stranger. At least three such illustrations may be given from the sixteenth century:

(1) Buhlūl Lōdī and Sikandar Lōdī were good rulers and the second was exceptionally strong and efficient. When he died and Ibrāhīm Lōdī succeeded him and introduced the policy of exterminating the Afghān nobles, trouble arose. The nobles deserted Ibrāhīm and sided with Bābur, an utter stranger to India.²

(2) When Humāyūn neglected the administration in Bengal and his brothers rose in rebellion, the people rallied round the new leader Shēr Shāh, who promised them peace and prosperity and had otherwise no pretence to kingship, his ancestors having been only second-class noblemen under the Afghāns and the Mughals.

(3) When after Islām Shāh's death, there were rival claimants among the Sūrī princes and Humāyūn had also arrived the people of the Punjab rallied round the latter and made him their ruler.

¹ N. M. quotes the Quranic verse, 6:45,

فَقُطِّعَ دَائِرَةُ الْقَوْمِ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا

to express the tyranny of the Afghāns.

² Bābur did not consider himself a stranger and claimed the inheritance of the Punjab because a century and a quarter before, his fifth ancestor, Tīmūr, had occupied it.

(b) Except for the two battles of Machhiwārā and Sirhind, Humāyūn's advance looks like a triumphal march and this too in spite of the fact that the Afghān nobles did not come over to him and the Gakhar chief, Sultān Ādam, though friendly was prevented from joining him by his treaty with Sikandar Shāh. After the battle of Sirhind, Sikandar Shāh practically ceased to be a political figure. What the people cared for was peace and since Sikandar Shāh, in spite of his success against Ibrāhīm and support from his nobles, could not guarantee it, the people turned to the once-rejected Mughal chief. They probably remembered something of the Mughal culture and system of government and so were willing to give one more chance to Humāyūn.

(c) Humāyūn, though not the actual dictator of his last campaign—that role being played by Bairām Khān—still exercised a genial and soothing influence, which won back the former deserters, Tardī Bēg, Bāpūs Bēg and Muṣāhib Bēg. It is seldom that we find deserters being won over so completely as was done by Humāyūn. In Akbar's time, Āṣaf Khān, the conqueror of Gondwāna, though pardoned, got suspicious and once more rebelled against the king. The Mirzās furnish another example of persistent rebellion in Akbar's reign. In Shāh Jahān's time, Khān Jahān Lōdī and Jhujhar Singh, though their former misdeeds were overlooked, could not be certain of absolute security and both of them died fighting against the Mughal Emperor. Other examples may be furnished from Āurangzib's reign. It is a striking feature in Humāyūn's character that he could make Tardī Bēg and other deserters come round and faithfully serve their master in his last days. If in Kāmran's time the nobles had deserted their king, it was from the selfish motive of keeping alive their

importance by making the two brothers fight against each other.

(d) Humāyūn should claim some credit for the rise of Bairam Khān. Without the help of the latter, probably the Mughal kingdom could not have been re-established and without Humāyūn, Bairam Khān's merits probably would not have become so universally known. Under normal conditions, the Īrānī Shī'a, Bairam Khān, would not have secured a place amongst the Sunnī Tūrkīs of a Mughal court. The Shī'a Shāh of Īrān too, noticing the worth of the Shī'a Khān had requested him to return to his mother country. Shēr Shāh also had received him with open arms, had shown him signal honour, and had desired him to enter his service. Bairam Khān had rejected all of them and continued to stay with his discredited master probably because there was one thing in common between the two, namely the pursuit of knowledge. Both were deeply learned and both were students of literature, poetry and astronomy.¹ Bairam was pleased with his master's cosmopolitan and tolerant views. No other Sunnī of the sixteenth century, with the probable exception of Bābur, could have referred to a Shī'a, generally despised, in the strain, 'if the friend (Bairam) remains a friend, (it does not matter) if both, this world and the next, remain hostile' or could have given the titles of 'the faithful friend,' 'the dear

¹ B. B. T. II. B. mentions how when reminded that a work on astronomy was to be presented to Bairam Khān, Humāyūn actually got on his horse, obtained the copy from his load of books on the camel's back and sent it to Bairam Khān. Another illustration is given of Mullā 'Alāuddīn Lārī who wished to have an interview with the king. At first the latter refused but when the Mullā told him that he had added to his knowledge during his stay in Samarqand, he at once agreed and after the interview gave him an allowance. Actually a small library accompanied the king in his journeys. Once on a campaign the king lost it and later regained it to his intense joy.

companion,' 'the fortunate son,' or 'the well-disposed brother' or could have proposed in spite of his Sunnī nobles' dislike the Khān's marriage with Akbar's cousin, Salīma Sultān Bēgam.¹ If the master showed so much consideration to Bairam, the latter too repaid it by unflinching devotion. Fully confident of his master's sentiments towards him, he ignored Shāh Abul Ma'ālī's insolence or the Tūrkī opposition to his plans. As *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī* puts it, 'the good fortunes of the king and the daring skill of the Khān-Khānān cleared the garden of Hindustān of the Afghān thorns.'²

(e) It is rather trying to go through the words of fawning adulation that A. Faḡl again and again showers on Akbar. In this campaign, for example, we know that Akbar's was a mere name and that being only a child of 12 or 13, he acted in a minor capacity, as his father's representative or in charge of a military division and his actual achievements were few and of an insignificant character. Instead of recognizing this plain fact, A. Faḡl sings paeans of praise and finds all sorts of esoteric excellence in his master. We would give a few illustrations not confining ourselves to this campaign merely. When the elderly Mun'im Khān was appointed guardian to Akbar, a prince of twelve years, in 1554, A. Faḡl remarks that it was really Mun'im that was learning from Akbar. 'Though from use and wont, His Majesty (Humāyūn) gave the name, guardian (*atālīq*), to the elder man, yet in reality he sent him like a child to earn wisdom from that exhibitor of universal reason.'³ The very name, Akbar, according to his biographer, indi-

¹ Later one of the reasons for Bairam's murder was the Sunnī Afghān's dislike of the marriage.

² M. R., 607.

³ A. N., 335.

cates Imperialistic destiny, for the numerical value of Akbar is equal to that of 'Āftāb' and that the letters that form the word denote the four elements, fire, water, air and earth.¹ When in his infancy Akbar was crying in the darkness of night and became quiet at the sight of a lamp, the biographer sees in the incident 'a clear proof of light-augmenting and darkness-dispelling both internally and externally.'² Again, when 'Askarī's wife, Sultān Bēgam, nursed the year-old prince, out came the remarks from Akbar's Boswell, 'To appearance she watched over him but in reality she was keeping herself alongside of light absolute and so receiving illumination and day by day she was beholding more and more the glory of greatness proceeding from the light-increasing brows of that world-blessing.'³ A. Faḏl remarking Akbar as the father of his ancestors goes on to explain it: 'though this sublime Master (Akbar) seemeth to have been engendered amid bodily elements and from protoplasms, yet as regards the source of his nature and the root of his being his forefathers and foremothers have been procreated from him so that spiritually and in an esoteric sense he is the Father of Fathers.'⁴ Other examples lie scattered throughout his work.

(f) It is a pleasing feature to notice that at the commencement of this his last campaign, Humāyūn had taken a resolve not to make a slave of any captive but to set him free. Bairam knew of this generous intention of his master and so after his battle with Naṣīb Khan Panj Bhaiya collected his Afghān captives and honourably sent them back to the Afghān camp. After the occupation of Lahore by

¹ *Ibid.*, 28.

² *Ibid.*, 226.

³ *Ibid.*, 194.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 247.

Shahābuddīn, the inhabitants were protected from molestation and the king dealt kindly with the conquered and strictly with his tyrannous followers. The author of the *Rauḡat-ut-Tābirīn* gives an example when Mirzā Afyūnī was executed by Bairam Khān for illegal possession of two or three sugar-canes and the act was approved by the king.¹ When Jauhar was appointed the revenue collector of Hai-batpūr, the king expounded to him the motto, 'reward for the virtuous and chastisement for the wicked.' The former correctly interpreted his master's intentions and took measure to get a number of the Afghān children, mortgaged to the money-lenders, released by payment from the state funds. It is such kindly gestures that helped Humā-yūn to restore the Mughal rule in India. It is interesting to note that his abstention from meat during his campaign—a period of more than nine months—shows a spirit of sacrifice, rather rare in the Mediaeval History of India.

¹ According to R. T. the need for kindness towards the newly conquered people was first felt by Bairam Khān and he drew the king's attention to it.

CHAPTER XV

HUMĀYŪN'S SECOND KINGSHIP, JULY, 1555 - JANUARY, 1556—LAST DAYS AND DEATH. HUMĀYŪN'S TOMB

On July 20, 1555 the king occupied the Salīngarh fort of Delhi and three days later at an auspicious hour entered the city. For sometime he was occupied in distributing the offices and *jāgīrs* to the deserving. Akbar, as the heir-apparent, got Ḥiṣār Fīrūza;¹ Mīr Shāh Abul Ma'ālī, the Punjab; and Bairam Khān, the important *chakla* of Sirhind² in order to protect the Delhi province against any inroad by Sikandar Sūr. Similarly Tardī Bēg Khān was sent out as governor of Mewāt, while Sikandar Khān Uzbek had to go to Agra and Muhammad Khān Ākhṭa Bēgī to Biāna, all the three having been instructed to keep the Mewātis under control. 'Alī Qulī Khān was made governor of Sambhal,³ to guard the northern approaches to the capital. The king also made a *naqf* of Muṣṭafābād with an income of 30 or 40 lacs of *tankas* in the name of the Prophet.⁴ The king stayed in Delhi, where according to A. Faḏl 'he watered the rose-garden of sovereignty with the stream of justice.'

The king had not yet completed the work of subduing the Afghāns. Besides Sikandar Sūr, whose career will be

¹ *Bad.* points out that Humāyūn had received it in Bābur's time.

² *T. S. Ch.* uses the word *Chakla*.

³ *Far.* makes him governor of Meerut also.

⁴ *Bad.*, 462.

⁵ *M. R.*, 607.

reviewed hereafter, there were several other local chiefs who attempted to oppose the king in their respective localities. One, Rustam Khān, had collected in Hīṣār a number of the Afghān nobles, e.g., Tātār Khān, Aḥmad Khān, Bijlī Khān, Shahāb Khān, Tāj Khān, etc., and when on the twenty-fifth of *Ramẓān* 962, Shamsuddīn Atka Khān proceeded to Hīṣār to occupy the place on behalf of Akbar, he disputed the occupation. Though outnumbered in the proportion of five to one, Atka Khān and his four hundred Mughals defeated the enemy, Rustam Khān himself retreating to Hīṣār. The Mughals now laid siege to the fort and after twenty-five days forced him to surrender. Rustam Khān was sent to Delhi with seven hundred other captive Afghāns. The king was willing to treat him leniently and grant him a *jāgīr* on condition that he would agree to surrender his sons as hostages for his good behaviour. Since the Afghān would not agree, he was sent to prison and placed in charge of a nobleman.

Another notable Afghān chief was Rāi Hūsain Jalwānī of Badāūn who was disposed of by Qambar 'Alī Dīwāna, an independent Mughal adventurer. Qambar 'Alī Dīwāna,¹ a brave but half-crazy fellow had taken part in the battle of Sirhind and then, when the king went to Delhi, had moved on to occupy Sambhal². He sent to Badāūn his son, 'Ārifullāh, who drove away Rāi Hūsain.³ Qambar 'Alī then advanced further to Kānt-

¹ M. R., 602 says:— قنبر دیوانه که از اذال اردوی همایون بود

T. Sb. names him Aḥmad Khān and calls him an Afghān.

² Sambhal was granted to 'Alī Qulī Khān in *jāgīr*. Bad. states that Qambar 'Alī once had remarked, 'just as a garden may belong to one and its fruits may be enjoyed by another, similarly 'Alī Qulī Khān may have the legal rights to the place but I continue to enjoy its revenue.'

³ M. R. says that Qambar himself destroyed the Aān.

Gola, the present Shāhjahānpūr, and met and defeated the third leading Afghān, Rukn Khān, and then overran up to Malanoh. Qambar 'Alī was an enigma to the Mughal officials; for, while he accomplished some notable deeds, and professed loyalty to the king by sending several submissive letters,¹ he was actually behaving as an independent prince and making presumptuous remarks, like 'my head is a twin to the royal crown.'² He was planning his movements without any reference to the king or his officials and he distributed the war booty freely among his followers³ and conferred on whomsoever he chose the titles of Khān and Sultān, and also standards and kettle-drums. His indiscretions did not end here. He would possess the daughters and the properties of others by force and kill those who displeased him. He was half-crazy also, for he once allowed his own house to be plundered as he believed that food and wealth belonged to God and hence should be available to all.⁴ It was necessary to control such insane actions and so the king sent 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī with instruction to despatch the Dīwāna to the court or if he resisted, to punish him. When 'Alī Qulī summoned him, he insolently refused, remarking, 'just as you are a slave of the king, so am I one of the office-bearers of the expedition and have got this province by the sword.' Finding no other remedy 'Alī Qulī took to arms and when the Dīwāna took shelter in the fort of Badāūn, besieged him there. The Dīwāna bravely defended himself taking every precaution against surprise and going round night and day to discover the enemy's mines. 'Alī Qulī felt

¹ M. R.

² *Bad.*, 464.

³ I. N.

⁴ A. N. and I. N.

some admiration for the brave defender and was willing to grant him terms; so he sent Muḥammad Bēg Turkmān and Mullā Ghiyāsuddīn to treat with him. The latter insolently imprisoned both the envoys, who, on their part, won over their jailor and managed to make a prisoner of the Dīwāna. When brought to ‘Alī Qulī he still behaved rudely and would not pay heed to ‘Alī Qulī’s order to bend his knees. So the latter without any further ado, killed him and sent his head to the king, on the fifth of *Rabī‘ul-awwal* (January 18, 1556),¹ just two days before the fatal accident to the king. Thus a really brave man had an untimely end, brought about by his own thoughtless behaviour. The king who appreciated his bold capture of Sambhal, Badāūn and Kānt-Gōlā and wished to spare him, and, if possible, to reward him, sent Qāsim Mukhlis but the Dīwāna was dead before Mukhlis’s arrival at Badāūn. The king rebuked ‘Alī Qulī for his hasty campaign against him and for ignoring his assertion of being a king’s officer and for causing his death. Humāyūn’s regret was that he got no opportunity to recognize the Dīwāna’s achievements and direct his actions.

The fourth Afghān leader was Ghāzī Khān Sūr, Ibrāhīm Sūr’s father, who was governor of Biāna² before the advent of the Mughals. After the Mughal occupation of Delhi, Biāna had been granted to Ḥaidar Muḥammad Akhta Bēgī who went there, defeated Ghāzī Khān and forced him to take shelter inside the fort. Ghāzī Khān was made to surrender himself, but Ḥaidar Muḥammad, with an eye on his wealth, broke the terms of surrender and killed him.³ The king’s moral sense revolted against his

¹ *T. Kb. T.*

² Situated 53 miles s.-w. of Agra.

³ According to *Bad.*, Ḥaidar Muḥammad killed every one

officer's faithless action, especially as he had hoped to win over the murdered Afghān chief. As the times were abnormal and Ḥaidar Muḥammad was situated in an exposed frontier post, he refrained from inflicting any punishment except confiscating the property that he had obtained from the murdered chief¹ which rightly belonged to the king and forbidding him to gird his belt.

The last, but not the least, was Sulṭān Sikandar Sūr. It was to guard against him that the king had despatched Mīr Shāh Abul Ma'ālī to Lahore as governor.² On his arrival there, on the advice of Jauhar, the Mīr arranged for an elaborate defence with a number of carts linked together in the Ottoman fashion with iron hooks and iron or leathern chains. Jauhar supplied to the Mīr some war materials of which he gives a list in his work. But the Mīr committed several grievous blunders. Depending on the royal favour he removed Farḥat Khān,³ the *Shiqdār* or magistrate of Lahore and appointed one of his own creatures without any royal sanction. Again he was laying hands on the treasury and on the *jāgīrs* of the nobles⁴ causing wide dissatisfaction among them. The king, who had no heart to punish his favourite transferred his province to Akbar (November 16, 1555), permitting the Mīr to repair to Ḥiṣār Fīrūza if he chose.⁵

of his prisoners including the infants and the suckling babes.

¹ *Bad.* says he still saved a few precious jewels for himself.

² If *Jauhar* is correct the king had ordered the Mīr to make Jālandhar his head-quarters but he disregarded the order and went to Lahore. The nobles there attempted to resist him but did not succeed.

³ *Jauhar* calls him Farḥād Khān and *M. A.*, Fara Khān.

⁴ *T. Kb. T.*, *T. Sb.* and *R. T.* accuse him of engaging himself in too much pleasure. *T. Sb.* says that he neglected even to pay attention to Sikandar Sūr's affairs.

⁵ *T. Sb.* says that the king gave peremptory orders to the Mīr to

Since the main duty of the governor of the Punjab was to meet Sikandar Sūr who had already plundered the treasury of Bimbhar¹ and who was expected to make a swoop from his hilly refuge, it was necessary to send some seasoned soldier along with the prince. There could be no better choice than Bairam Khān but a direct replacement of the Mīr by Bairam Khān was not feasible. So in November 1555, the latter was appointed Akbar's guardian.

At the time of Akbar's departure, the king overwhelmed by the coming separation and in an exuberance of filial love, uttered the lines

چراغ چون تو اندر دودمانم چرا روشن نباشد چشم جانم
بهر کارے یزدان یاریت باد ز عمر و ملک پر خوردا ریت باد

“(There is) no lamp like thee in our family,
(Then) why should the eyes of my soul (Thine
eyes) not be lustrous?
May thou in every affair be blessed with God's
favour,
And live long and be happy with thy domain.”

When the prince and his guardian reached Sirhind, Ustād ‘Azīz Sīstānī who later was called Rumī Khān Ḥalabī from his original home in Aleppo, joined them as gunner. So also did Shamsuddīn Atka Khān who as Akbar's foster-father had to shift from Ḥiṣāī to Lahore. Many others, besides, joined them there; for, the officers of the auxiliary force² sent in aid of the Mīr had become so

proceed to Ḥiṣār Fīrūza. R. T. makes the king turn towards Ḥiṣār Fīrūza. Unless it be to meet his favourite, there is no point in his journey.

¹ *Jauhar* thinks Sikandar obtained booty worth five crores.

² According to N. M. it consisted of ten to fifteen thousand men.

disgusted with his insolence that they including Muṣāhib Bēg, Farḥat Khān, Khwāja Jalāluddīn Maḥmūd and Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, hastened to meet the party at Sirhind without obtaining permission from the Mīr, their immediate head. Akbar or rather Bairam Khān as a matter of form should not have welcomed them, but the Khān remembering his past grievances against the Mīr, received them under cover of the prince. Sikandar Sūr had advanced towards Lahore and the Mīr, hoping to record a victory in his own favour came out to meet the Afghān and if Jauhar is to be believed, had pushed the Afghāns into a tight corner, when the desertion of his own officers took place. Both the Mīr and Bairam Khān wrote to the king, the former complaining of the desertion. Humāyūn replied to both,¹ advising the Mīr to return to Delhi and promising to redress his grievances and informing Bairam Khān, whom he addressed as ‘companion of the desert, faithful and devoted Khān Khanan, the commander-in-chief, the son,’² of the contents of the Mīr’s letter and ordering him to quicken his journey to Lahore. Sikandar Sūr might have taken advantage of the situation but he had learnt of the prince’s approach³ and so failing in courage, withdrew again to his shelter. The Mīr disappointed in his hopes of a victory, now grudgingly came forth as far east as the Beās river to welcome the prince and to render homage to him as the new governor. When the two met in a *darbār*, Akbar, out of regard for his father’s love for the Mīr, asked him to be seated while the rest of the audience

¹ A brief summary of the letters is given by *Jauhar*.

² The titles in Persian are

یار چولی و فادار جان سپار خانخانان سپه سالار فرزند

³ *M. A.*

remained standing. But the Mīr took offence, and after the *darbār*, sent words referring to his relations with the king and reminding the prince of the occasion when at Jūi-Shāhī, during the progress of a *qamargāb* hunt, he and the king ate off the same plate while the prince had his food sent to him and adding that there had been other occasions of a similar nature.¹ He ended with the query, 'why was he not seated on the same rug with the prince but on a separate carpet and why was he entertained at a separate table?' The prince good-humouredly gave the obvious reply that 'the regulations of the state and the laws of love are distinct from each other; he observed the one and the king the other.' At the mention of love, the Mīr felt abashed and kept quiet.

Bairam Khān objected to the Mīr's presence at Lahore and desired him to repair to the king. The latter consequently left for Kālānūr. Bairam next got ready to meet Sikandar Sūr who had fled to Mānkōt, and had actually reached Hariāna, when the news of the king's accidental fall from a staircase reached him.² The party hastened to the neighbouring town of Kālānūr, where they met the Mīr and halted to get further news of the king's health.

In the midst of all these successes, one small set-back may be noticed, viz., the loss to the Delhi kingdom of Andarāb and Ishkāmish, Tardī Bēg Khān's *jāgīrs*. This happened when the Khān at the king's command, joined the Indian campaign and his deputy, Muqīm Khān, unable to resist the Mīrzā, retired to Kabul. The latter, it may be noted, did not keep the territories long. In Akbar's reign he lost them to the Uzbeks and repaired to Delhi. There may be some satisfaction in the reflection

¹ *Ibid.*

² *I. N. and M. A.*

that if Sulaimān had not acted high-handedly by occupying Tardī Bēg's *jāgīr* and thus not given offence to the ruler of Delhi, Badakhshān might not have been lost.

To return to the king's accident. He resided in his Dīn-panāh.¹ When starting from Kabul, he had resolved that after the second accession when the Mughal rule was securely established, he would abdicate in favour of Akbar, but before he could carry out his resolution, his death took place.² It happened thus. On the seventh of *Rabī'ul-awwal*,³ 963 (January 20, 1556) the king was engaged in his library, newly fitted at Shēr Mandal. In the Jāmī' Masjid close by,⁴ had assembled Shāh Budāgh, 'Ālam Shāh, Bēg Mūlak who had just returned from a pilgrimage to Macca, Chaghatai Khān who had arrived from Gujrāt and Pahlwān Dōst and Maulānā Asad who had arrived from Kabul and brought reports from Mun'im Khān, the governor.⁵ The king met them all on the roof of the library⁶ and talked to them of their respective countries. When the audience was over, it was sunset. The king had fixed a grand *darbār* for that evening when a number of his officers would be rewarded with *jāgīrs* and promotions. The *dārbār* was to be held with the appearance of the planet, Venus, in the sky and the king who took the keenest interest in astronomy had sent for his astronomers and mathematicians for a closer view of the planet. Since some time would elapse

¹ Founded in 1533. See *H. B. Vol. I*, Ch. VI.

² *B. B. T. H. B.*

³ *Bad.*, *Far.*, *M. T.*, *M. J. N.*, *S. S.*, *R. T.*, *T. Kb. T.*, *T. Sb.* *N. M.* gives 16th and makes it a Friday and *T. S. Ch.*, 17th.

⁴ At present it is called *Masjid-i-qal'a-i-kohna* and popularly known as Shēr Shāh's mosque.

⁵ *A. N.*, and *T. S. Ch.*

⁶ *T. Sb.* calls it a pigeon-house.

before they would assemble, the king wished to retire for rest. When he had just reached the stairs, he heard the call of the *mu'azzin* from the neighbouring mosque. In order to show reverence to the call, he wished to seat himself on the first step,¹ his feet being on the second. As it was a cold evening of January, he wore a long robe. The flight of stairs was steep and the stone-steps were smooth and slippery. In trying to take his seat on the narrow steps, one of his feet got entangled in the flowing skirt of his robe² and in the slight distraction, thus caused, his staff, on which he was resting, slipped, causing him to lose his balance and to fall headlong down several steps. He received severe injuries, some drops of blood coming out of his right ear, lost consciousness immediately after the accident and in this condition was taken to his palace.³ Shortly afterwards he regained his senses for a brief while and, with a view to setting at rest the rumours that were likely to arise and also to relieve the anxiety of his two dearest persons, Akbar and Bairam Khān, dictated a letter⁴ and sent it through Nazr Shaikh Chūlī. But the strain

¹ *M. R.*, *M. T.*, *M. J. N.*, *T. S. Ch.*, *T. Sb.* and *Kb. T.*, say that he seated himself on the second step. It was too narrow for the purpose.

² *M. R.* calls it a پوستین i.e., a garment of fur or leather.

³ *R. T.*, *M. T.*, *M. J. N.*, *T. Sb.*, and *T. Kb. T.*

⁴ According to *M. T.* this letter was written after several days; *M. J. N.* says it was sent the next day. *I. N.* seems to quote from the letter but gives wrong details, e.g., it makes the king go to the top of the neighbouring masjid (*M. A.* does the same) and asserts that; (a) The stone-corner of a step entered the back of the ear (also given by *M. A.*); (b) when he came to his senses, he stood up and returned to his palace. *Far.*, *M. T.*, *M. J. N.*, *T. Kb. T.*, *T. S. Ch.* and *T. Sb.* make him get up instead of sit down. *A. H. G.* 1064 makes him dose over his stick resulting in a fall. *R. T.* says that at the end of the *azān* he stretched his legs and in doing so fell down.

of the dictation proved too much and the king lost consciousness again and in that very state expired eight days later on the fifteenth of *Rabī'ul awwal* (January 28, 1556) at sunset.¹ Thus Humāyūn's second reign lasted for six months and eight days.

The descriptions of the different omens presaging the coming end have been given by the contemporary writers. After his reoccupation of Delhi Humāyūn would frequently talk of departure to the next world and at the sight of the shrines and tombs of Delhi would repeat his father's remarks about *Ghaznī* and its graves and express the same desire viz., that he would love to die there. He wrote with his own hand on the arch of his portico Shaikh Āzarī's couplet:—

شنیده‌ام که برین طارم زراندود است خطی که عاقبت کار جمله محمود است

“I've heard that on this gilded dome (the sky)
is writ—

“The end of all things is praiseworthy.”

On the day of the accident, he composed the following quatrain:

یارب بکمال لطف خام گردان وائف بکفایت خواصم گردان
از عقل جفاکار دل افکار شدم دیوانه خود خوان و خلاصم گردان

“O God. In Thy mercy make me wholly 'Thine,
(And) acquaint me with Thy attributes.

Tyrannous Reason hath crippled my soul,

Call me Thy own madman and set me free.”

¹ According to *N. M.* the king lingered for 2 days; according to *A. N.*, *S. S.*, and *T. S. Ch.*, 3; according to *Far.*, *T. Kb. T.*, and *T. Sh.*, 4; according to *Bad.*, *R. T.*, *M. T.*, and *M. J. N.*, 8. He must have lingered for several days otherwise there is no sense in postponing Akbar's accession.

and recited it with tearful eyes. Again, when one of prince Akbar's latest dreams was variously interpreted, the king's quiet remarks were that they bespoke no evil for his son but pointed at his own approaching doom. Again it appears that a few days previous to the accident, the king had remarked that the number of opium-pills that were with him—just seven days supply—would suffice for him and actually he had only very few left on the day of the accident.

Akbar also had a vague prognosis of the coming end of his father and at noon of the day of the accident had remarked of some severe calamity befalling a great personage. Even Jauhar had dreamt seven days back of the king addressing Akbar as Bādshāh and helping him to an exalted seat in a decorated hall of audience on a high hill. Let readers draw their own conclusions from the omens. It would appear that God was especially kind to give Humāyūn those warnings which He usually does not vouchsafe to other mortals.

The rumours of the king's death spread in Delhi and there were tumults and disturbances in the city.² In order to set the rumours at rest, the officials and the nobles at Sīdī 'Alī Ra'is's suggestion skilfully dressed Mullā Bēkasī, who bore some resemblance to the late king, in the royal robes, brought him to the top of the *aimān* and showed him to the people with his face turned away towards the river. When the people were satisfied that they had a glimpse of the king, the tumult died out. They then wrote to Tardī Bēg Khān at Alwar, Sikandar Khān Uzbek at Agra and 'Alī Qulī Khān at Sambhal to repair at once to Delhi.

¹ A. N. and Dorn.

² T. S. Ch.

The chronograms of Humāyūn's death are many. Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī's is همايون بادشاه از بام افتاد 'Humāyūn Bādshāh fell from the roof.' The date comes to 962 A.H.¹ and hence is short by one². H. Beveridge, the translator of the *Akbar-nāma* points out that many contemporaries, including Jauhar and Bayazīd³ believed this to be the correct date. Another chronogram by an unknown person is حیف ز ان پادشه عارف دانای حکیم 'Alas for the king, the saint and the sage.'⁴ A third by Maulānā Mas'ūd is بادشاه من از بام افتاد 'Alas, alas, my king fell from the roof.'⁵ *Badā'ūnī* gives two others, one is همايون كجا رفت و اقبال او 'Where is Humāyūn gone and his glory?', and the second بهشت آمد مقام پاى او 'Heaven became his blessed abode.' Another of Maulānā Mas'ūd's chronograms is وامل حق شد همايون بادشاه 'Humayun badshah was united to God'. Since it is one more than the required number, the word بادشاه should be written as پادشه

On the thirteenth day of Humāyūn's death, Tardī Bēg, the *Amīr-ul-umarā*, and 'Alī Qulī Khān, who had returned from Alwar and Sambhal respectively, gathered the other officers, including Khizr Khwāja Khān, Afzal Khān, the Dīwān, Khizr Khwāja Hazūra and Āsaf Khān and on the twenty-eighth of *Rabī'ul-awwal*⁶ (February 10),

¹ I. N. and most of the other writers notice this discrepancy but add that such small errors are permissible.

² *Far.* drops the alif in پادشاه and so makes out only 961.

³ Ni'matullah, the author of the *Makbẖan-i-Afghānī*, though not a contemporary, believed that 962 A.H. was the correct date of Humāyūn's death. See *Dorn* 172. Both *Al-Nūr-ul-Sāfir* and *Shazārātu-al-zahab-fi-akbbār-min-Zabab* assigned 962. Both are printed works, the copies of which are in Rāmpūr State library.

⁴ See *B. M. Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, 793.

⁵ *M. R.* and *I. N.* give وای instead of آء and hence their sentence give 974 instead of 963.

⁶ *N. M.* and *T. S. Ch.*

recited the *khutba* in Akbar's name. Ibrāhīm Abul Qāsim M., Kāmran Mirzā's son, who had been placed in surveillance since Kāmran's exile, was sent away to Bairam in Kālānūr¹ in order that he might be prevented from creating trouble. In Kālānūr, Bairam Khān and his followers had stayed on from the day they had heard of the accident. When the news of the king's death reached them, the Khān assembled his fellow-officers in a *darbār* and amidst rejoicings and congratulations, placed Akbar on the throne on the second of *Rabī'ul-Ākhir* (February 14). The only person who did not join the *darbār* was the arrogant favourite of the late king, Mīr Shāh Abul Ma'ālī. The Khān, who bore no goodwill to him, suggested execution as punishment for the Mīr's offence; but Akbar, though only in his fourteenth year, did not agree and refrained from spilling blood on the very day of his accession. So the Mīr continued to live, and in the next six years stirred up serious trouble and caused the death of Humāyūn's queen, Māh-chūchak Bēgam, whose daughter the Mīr had married.

Humāyūn's sudden death had thrown the Mughal government out of gear. The Mughals possessed only the province of Kabul, Qandahār, the Punjab and the western Doāb of the Hindustān and their Afghān rivals with the single exception of Ghāzī Khān Sūr still lived. Sikandar Sūr was still roaming in the Punjab causing

¹ Ibrāhīm A. Qāsim like Khusrū, Dāwar Bakhsh and so many other Mughal princes is a shadowy person and the few glimpses, that one gets of him, represent him to be a bright young man. Later, on Akbar's assumption of administration in 1560, he was put to death. He composed the following verse before his death:

فلک بکشتن من اینچنین شتاب مکن
چون خواهم از ستمت مرد اضطراب مکن

occasional alarms to the local officials; Ibrāhīm Sūr had not yet disappeared and the renowned Hīmū was at the height of power. Even after the lapse of another ten months, when the Mughals had time to settle down, their good luck alone enabled them to obtain a victory in the hard-fought battle at Pānīpat. Afterwards, the Mughals had a more easy time and the Afghān chiefs disappeared one after the other.

There was a long-standing agreement that still remained unfulfilled. It was the transference of Qandahār to the Shāh of Īrān. In spite of the king's terms of settlement it had been retained by the Mughals from 1545 till now and the Shāh too had graciously ignored the violation of terms on the ground that the governorship of Bairam Khān, an Īrānī by birth, was a recognition—though of a tardy nature—of the Shāh's claims to Qandahār. When the Khān joined his master at Bīkrām, Qandahār still remained with the Mughals. The king was next engaged in his Indian campaign. When it had ended he died before he had any time to take up the matter relating to Qandahār. It is regrettable that afterwards during Bairam Khān's regency, the Mughal government of Delhi continued to ignore the just claims of the Shāh. The latter, despairing of any peaceful settlement forcibly occupied it in 1558 and the Khān either from his sympathy for the Shāh's cause or because he had no inclination to add to his difficulties by another war quietly accepted it as a settled fact.

The Mughal relations with the neighbouring kingdoms of Bengal and Bihār, Mālwa, Gujrāt and the Rājput States of Rājputāna in 1556, had nothing threatening about them. Bengal had recently changed hands more than once and its unsettled condition led the Mughals

to expect no trouble from that quarter. Mālwa, a separate kingdom since Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh’s accession, had just lost its founder Shujā‘at Khān, who was succeeded by the pleasure-loving and frivolous Bāz Bahādur. Since the new king had neither the inclination nor the time for warlike pursuits, there was danger from that quarter. Similarly the weak king, Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujrāt, beset as he was with the turbulent nobles in his kingdom, was not in a position to disturb the tranquillity of the Mughal kingdom. The Rājput̄s too, usually confined to Rājputāna and divided into a dozen or more feudal clans, had no ambition for territorial expansion. Thus the Mughals could reasonably expect to be left to themselves.

When we turn to the Mughal government itself, we find everything in a state of flux. It is true that the king had set a higher tone of morality but so far as the actual administration was concerned, his personal share seems to be small. Next to the king was prince Akbar, who was only a boy of thirteen with hardly any administrative experience and certainly with no taste for books or for the society of the learned. Not much could be expected in 1556 from the playful prince. Bairam Khān as Khān-Khānān and king’s deputy exercised power and the Sunnī nobles who were jealous of him and had no desire to see his influence extended for the present remained quiet. The Tūrki nobility was feudal in character and contained all the unruly elements characteristic of their order. They were jealous of royalty, took offence at the slightest cause and played false as often as they chose. They often defied the king merely because the latter represented law and order and it served their interests to perpetuate disorder. The king’s wars with Kāmraṇ and with

the other nobles furnish us with illustrations of the above statements. Thus the immediate prospects of the establishment of an orderly kingdom were not particularly rosy. But the fact that the Mughal system of government broad-based on scholarship, wide outlook, love, and justice would naturally work in their favour and if only the Mughals were allowed to work their system, they were likely to evolve a stable form of administration. Fortunately, this result was achieved in Akbar's time.

Let us turn to the king. After his death, his corpse was wrapped in cotton and buried in Delhi. When Hīmū advanced to occupy the capital the body was dug out and taken to Sirhind for a temporary burial. When the Mughals once more regained the possession of Delhi after the second battle of Pānīpat, the body was once more taken to Dīn-panāh. There it lay for a number of years. In the meantime, Humāyūn's queen, Bēga Bēgam or Hājī Bēgam as she is sometimes called from the fact of her being one of the few mediaeval royal Indian women to perform a pilgrimage to Macca, took interest in the question of a permanent location for her husband's body and at last the present site was chosen¹ and money was provided by Akbar. Under the Bēgam's superintendence a noble pile arose, its completion taking sixteen years, 1565—81.² Today it is eclipsed by the exquisite and fairy-like Taj Mahal of Agra. But in the sixteenth century, it must have been pronounced as the most spacious and handsome garden-tomb in Asia, if not in the world, so

¹ *Kb. T. T. S. Ch.* wrongly calls the place *Ghiyāspūr*.

² *Far.*, and *C. H. I. IV. M. A. N.* assigns 1564. *B. B. T. H. B.* mentions that Akbar went to his father's tomb in July 1559 but there is no indication that the construction of the present mausoleum had been commenced at that date.

handsome that a writer¹ cries out in spontaneous delight

هو که میخواست که بیند شکل فردوس برین
گو بیا آن قصر و آن باغ همایون را ببین

“Who wishes to look at the shape of the heaven
above,
Tell him to come and visit this noble palace of Humā-
yūn and its garden.”

A short description of the tomb will suffice. It lies
in Kīlūgarhī² in an extensive garden
The description of and its original plan has been preser-
Humāyūn's tomb. ved to this day. The building stands
on a square platform, 155' each way and 22' in height.
The facades of the platform are adorned by arches set on
piers which are ornamented with an inlay of white marble.
The mortuary chamber is lofty and octagonal in shape,
measures 47' across, and is crowned by a bulbous dome of
white marble of graceful contour. The chamber is sur-
rounded by four other octagonal chapels, 23' in diameter,
each chapel being surmounted by a cupola. 'Light is
obtained through clerestory windows of perforated screens
fitted within the recessed archways of the facade.' From
the level of the terrace to the top of the copper pinnacle
it is 140' high. At one time the inside of the dome was
enriched with gilding and enamel and from its centre was
suspended a tassel of gold. It is said that the Jāts took

¹ Both *Kb. T.* and Sir Sayyid Aḥmad's *Āsār-us-Ṣanādīd*, 55 quote the couplet.

² The writers have wrongly spelt it as Kīlūkharī. Kīlūgarhī is a compound word formed of Kīlū, 'bank of a river' and garhī, 'fortress.' Kaiqubād had had his palace-fortress here on the bank of the Jamna.

away the gold tassel in the eighteenth century. The dome stands on a drum, 25' in height decorated with blackstone medallions surrounded by double triangles. The king lies in the centre room and the other Mughal princes and princesses in the adjacent rooms or on the terrace. Hājī Bēgam, the superintendent of the tomb, lies in the north-east corner room and the unfortunate Dārā Shikōh in a tomb on the terrace. In fact this building may fitly be termed like the Sikandrā of Agra, a general dormitory for the house of Tīmūr. Under Hājī Bēgam worked Mīrak Mirzā Ghiyās, who may be designated the architect of the tomb. The latter was helped by a host of his countrymen from Irān.

The building has aroused a considerable amount of interest in the art critics. Havell calls it 'more Persian in character than any other important building in India,'¹ and notices the absence of the Hindu symbols from the apex of the central dome and of the lotus-bud enrichment of the soffits or of the 'pipal leaf' keystones in the arches. It is one of the earliest buildings to show the Persian inlay work on a large scale and also the recessed portals and the diagonally connected passages. V. Smith also calls it 'distinctly Persian in style though differentiated by the free use of white marble, little used in Persia, and by the abstinence from coloured tile decoration so much favoured by the architects of that country.' Fergusson thinks its most marked characteristic to be 'its purity—it might almost be called poverty of design' and says, 'It has not even the picturesque boldness of the earlier Pathān tombs and in fact looks more like buildings a century at least more modern than it really is. It is however a noble tomb

¹ Havell: *Indian Architecture*, 158.

² V. Smith: *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 179.

and anywhere else must be considered a wonder.¹ Percy Brown is still more appreciative. 'The design of Humā-yūn's tomb did something more than introduce other elements into the architecture of Hindustān...There were subsequent occasions when the Mughal artisans received inspiration from the same source, but the main Persian incentive came to the building art of the Mughals through Hājī Bēgam's conception of her royal consort's mausoleum.'²

On the top of the building, round the drum, below the dome are a number of rooms and pavilions once used as a college attached to the mausoleum.³ Probably Hājī Bēgam, knowing her consort's predilection for learning had attracted scholars and made use of the building as a seat of learning.

The building had several of the latest improvements, e.g. an elevated platform, a stately recessed entrance, a 'double' dome and a high drum perforated with clerestory windows. It has also the characteristic Hindu feature in the plan, viz., the orthodox *pancha-ratna* pattern.

It is the earliest Mughal garden-tomb preserved in its original form and today it is a beauty spot in the surroundings of Delhi. The spacious garden was provided with waterchannels that run in all directions and collect in cisterns or fall from one level to another in waterchutes or jet out in fountains. The water was originally obtained from the wells scattered over the area with the help of the Persian wheels. According to Sir Sayyid, the

¹ Fergusson: *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, 290.

² C. H. I. IV, 532.

³ Fenshawe: *Delhi, past and present*, 232.

foundations of the tomb were laid in 1565 and it took sixteen years and fifteen lacs of rupees to complete it.

Humāyūn's tomb set a new model and a new standard in the building art of India. Space and loftiness were emphasized and richness of material, inlay work, bulbous dome, and the indigenous planning suggest the receptivity and catholicity of the Indian artists. They borrowed freely and from all quarters and assimilated fully the new architectural features before applying them: the bulbous dome with its long and narrow neck was obtained from Samarqand and Bukhāra; the diagonal passages, the recessed portal and the mosaic work from Persia; the double triangle pattern and the *pancha-ratna* plan from the Hindus. Wherever necessary they made suitable additions or alterations, e.g., they introduced the 'double' dome or substituted marble and stone for the Persian terracotta and glaze. Leaving aside the details, one may say that the tomb set a lofty standard of space and height and of treatment of materials. As Percy Brown has observed, 'It suggested new principles, wider possibilities, greater flexibility and generally infused the building art with fresh life.' Above all, the Mughal artists had learnt the art of setting a tomb in a formal garden and by accentuating the latter and by providing it with fountains and cascades, flowerbeds and pergolas converted the gloomy tomb into a radiant beauty spot. One may almost assert that the surpassing excellence of the Mughal culture is attested by the silent voice of Humāyūn's garden-tomb.

CHAPTER XVI

AKBAR UNDER HUMĀYŪN'S TUTELAGE

Akbar was born to Humāyūn in his thirty-sixth year. Two years before the prince's birth, his advent had been foretold in a dream.¹ Since that date Humāyūn had been 'keeping the dust-stained head of supplication on the earth of humility and placing the apex of beseechment on the threshold of the *ka'ba*.' In accordance with the instructions received in his dream from Aḥmad Jām, the Zhanda-pīl, he had named the child, Jalāluddīn Muḥammad Akbar. It was a misfortune for the father that his son was born when he was struggling against adversity and indigence in Rājputāna and Sind. At last seeing no other alternative, he left for the west, hoping for a shelter in Qandahār, Irān, or the still more distant, Macca. In Qandahār, his brother, 'Askarī, acting under instructions from Kāmran denied him any refuge and so he fled post-haste to Sīstān, a province then belonging to the Shāh of Irān. Knowing full well the rigours of the journey and expecting also that the childless 'Askarī and his wife, Sulṭān Bēgam, could not possibly be unkind to a helpless nephew, he left his one-year-old child to their mercy. Though even the mother, Hamīda Bānū,² did not choose

¹ See Supra Ch. I.

² This does not show lack of affection. Actually a royal prince, as soon as he was born, was entrusted to the wetnurses and their husbands. The mother only exercised her privilege to suckle the babe first and then afterwards had hardly anything to do with the bringing up of the child.

to stay with the child, he was safe in charge of Shamsuddīn Atka Khān and the two wetnurses, Jījī *Anaga* and Māham *Anaga*. Humāyūn's expectations that the child would be well looked after by his relations were fulfilled, for, actually Sulṭān Bēgam brought him up as her own and saw to it that he received all his due as a Tīmūrid prince. So between the Bēgam, the nurses and the foster-father Akbar had every comfort. As for 'Askarī, he hardly ever noticed him and when he did, it was at the desire of the nurses.¹ Humāyūn returned in 1545 after two years' stay in Īrān and immediately after set about the siege of Qandahār. The fall of Qandahār in September was followed two months later by that of Kabul, Kāmraṇ M. preferring a flight to Sind to a surrender to Humāyūn.

The king now met his son, after a separation of more than two years. Abul Faḡl describes this scene as well as another in the following spring when the prince met his mother on her arrival from Qandahār. The child, according to the author of *Akbar-nāma*, easily picked his mother out of a host of ladies present, though he was only one year old when he had seen her last. The ceremony of circumcision of the prince took place immediately after. Joyous festivities were held, wrestling bouts were arranged and gifts and *jāgīrs* were freely granted.

When next the king went to occupy Badakhshān he left Akbar behind. Kāmraṇ M. who was waiting for an opportunity speedily returned and while his brother was absent in the north, occupied Kabul. Humāyūn at once abandoned his expedition and made a gift of his newly-conquered territories in Badakhshān to Sulaimān M. and hastened to recover Kabul. Another siege fol-

¹ For an example see A. N., 194.

lowed, when Kāmraṇ getting desperate treated with ferocious cruelty those suspected of leaning towards the besiegers and in order to prevent Humāyūn from a vigorous conduct of the siege, exposed Akbar on the ramparts of the fort in front of the enemy's guns and 'kept him in a place where it was difficult on account of the marksmen of the victorious army, for an ant or a grasshopper to pass.' Though the artillery fire had to cease, the siege was ultimately successful and the fort fell on April 27, 1547 and the king was now once more united to his beloved son.

The prince's schooling began on his completion of his fifth year¹ his teacher being Mullāzāda Mullā 'Iṣāmud-dīn Ibrāhīm. The king had fixed the auspicious hour for the commencement of his son's studies but when the time came the latter hid himself, and the king's wishes could not be fulfilled. The Mullāzāda was devoted to pigeon-flying and neglected the prince's studies; so when the king heard of it, he dismissed him. Next, one, Maulānā Bayazīd, was appointed but the new tutor met with no better luck in making his pupil more attentive to his studies. Now Humāyūn realizing that probably the tutor was not wholly to blame thought of a curious plan for the choice of the next tutor. He drew a lot between three men, two being the old tutors, and the third, a new person named Maulānā 'Abdul Qādir. The lot was drawn in favour of the last, fortunately a more learned man than the other two and included by A. Faḡl among those well-versed in religious law and tradition and history.² But

¹ On November 20, 1547 A.D. Beveridge in *A. N.*, 519 n. points out that A. Faḡl wrongly puts down Akbar's age to be 4 years, 4 months and 4 days.

² *A. A. Vol. I*, 545 no. III.

the prince's studies remained as neglected as before. He was more often engaged in riding and controlling the Arab horses and camels, in pigeon-flying or in coursing with dogs. Humāyūn who intensely loved his son tried to interest him in his studies by quoting Shaikh Nizāmī's couplet:

'Sit not idle, 'tis not the time to play:
'Tis the time for arts and for work'

but this mere advice, as might be expected, produced no effect on the prince. Mīr 'Abdul Laṭīf,¹ Mullā Pīr Muḥammad and Hājī Muḥammad were his other teachers,² the last one probably during Bairam Khān's regency. Laurence Binyon³ tells us that Akbar had picked up some knowledge of drawing and that probably it was one of his drawings that was presented by his artist-teacher, 'Abdus Ṣamad, to Humāyūn.⁴

It is generally pointed out that among Bābur's descendants down to the last king Bahādur Shāh, dethroned in 1857, it was Akbar alone who might be called formally illiterate.⁵ This is a matter for surprise, for the Tīmūrids

¹ See G. H. P. L., 53. 'Abdul Laṭīf's younger brother, 'Alā-uddaula Qazvīnī wrote the historical work, *Nafais-ul-ma'āsir*.

² See S. M. Jaffar: *Education in Muslim India*, 165.

³ And also Vincent Smith.

⁴ This picture is preserved in Tehran. See Binyon's *Akbar*, 43, where a statement is made about Humāyūn also as painter.

⁵ See V. Smith's *Akbar*, 22. He depends on A. Fazl's statement in *A. N.*, 317-8. Mr. J. N. Samaddar supports V. Smith in his article entitled '*Akbar's illiteracy*' in the *J. B. O. R. S.* 1920.

Without making a thorough study of the subject one may be allowed to put in one or two points in favour of his literacy:

(1) *A. N.* tr., 520 says: 'The inspired nature of His Majesty is strongly drawn to the composing of Hindi and Persian poetry and is critical and hair-splitting in the niceties of poetic diction. Among books of poetry, he recites off-hand Maulānā Rūmī's *masnavī* and the *diwān* of Hāfiz and takes delight in their verities and beauties'.

were noted for their culture and literary attainments.

The causes of Akbar's illiteracy are not far to seek. Akbar was born in his father's days of adversity and a year later was thrown on his uncle, 'Askarī, who generally ignored him, so that during his long stay at Kabul in 1543-53, his studies were neglected and he was mostly left to the care of 'Askarī's wife or the wetnurses. So the precious ten years when a habit of reading might have been formed were wasted. It is true that Humāyūn himself did occasionally come to Kabul but till October, 1550,

(2) He composed the following verses:

(a)

نیست زنجیر جنون در گردن مجنون زار
عشق دست دوستی در گردنش افکنده است

(See A. N., 271).

(b)

من جنگ نمی‌زنم نی آرید	من بنگ نمی‌خورم می آرید
کان قطوها ز دیده بلبل فتاده است	شبدم مگو که بر ورق گل فتاده است
پیمانه می بزر خریدیم	دو شینه بکوی میفروشان
زر دادم و درد سر خریدیم	اکنون ز خمار سر گرانم

(c)

نه راه بمسجد نه کنشتم چکنم	از بار گنه خید پشتم چکنم
نه لایق دوزخ نه بهشتم چکنم	نه در صف کافر نه مسلمان جائم

(d) The following رباعی مستزاد was written to Sulṭān 'Abdullāh Khān Uz̄bek

با درد و االم	عمرم همه در فراق و هجران بگذشت
در رنج و ستم	این عمر گرانمایه چه ارزان بگذشت
با عیش و طرب	عمری که نبد صرف سرقتند و هری
با غصه و غم	افسوس که در آگه ویران بگذشت

(b) (c) and (d) are quoted from the *Riyāṣ-us-shu'arā*, R. A. S. B. copy. The author, 'Alī Qulī Khan Wālīh Dāghistānī wrote it in 1161 A. H. and died eight years later.

he was so occupied in his expeditions against Kāmrān, that he had no time left to attend to the education of his son. Akbar thus had grown up practically without any personal contact with any of the cultured Tīmūrīds. Humāyūn seems to have been aware of this defect in his son's education, and had resolved in 1550 to keep him with himself and to take better care of him. But he could not keep to this resolution, for Kāmrān continued to worry him for three more years and when he had been disposed of, the king immediately afterwards resolved on an invasion of India. The Punjab was conquered by June 1555 and Delhi occupied in the following month. But these successes were followed by his death six months later. So he never had any time to look to his son's education. All this time Akbar was growing into a sturdy lad of manly pursuits, e.g., he developed into an excellent hunter. Historians have recorded the feats of his younger days, e.g., how he felled an antelope with one stroke of his sword or secured game with the help of his trained leopards or showed his skill as a shot or an archer. That these proved of immense value to him in later life, we need not doubt. Again though he was only 12 or 13 years of age he took a share in Humāyūn's last campaign. At Sirhind his troops were the first to cross their swords with the enemy's and at the end of the day, the victory was credited to him.

Though illiterate, Akbar had shown tact as commander of the Mughal forces and governor of the Punjab. His relations with Bairam Khān were all that could be desired. He also treated the haughty Mīr Shāh Abul Ma'ālī with so much consideration that he allowed him a seat in his gubernatorial *darbārs*. But he put a limit to the Mīr's further pretensions and when the latter demanded

equality on the basis of his being addressed by the king as son and claimed a seat on the prince's cushion, Akbar flatly refused the request. Akbar's kindnesses towards him did not end with Humāyūn's death. On the third day of his accession, the Mīr, in his pride, chose to keep away till the settlement of the details of his reception by the other Mughal nobles and when these were settled, he came, sat down on Akbar's right and when the dinner was announced, had the insolence to wash his hands before all others including the new king. The nobles, shocked and disgusted with this behaviour suggested his death, but the new king, then only a young boy of 13, contented himself with his confinement.

If Akbar could not inherit from Humāyūn a love for literary pursuits, at least he had got from him a cosmopolitan outlook, a sobriety of views, a healthy moral tone and a love for the people. A sane tradition is a noble heritage and Akbar, with all his literary deficiencies, inherited from his father and grandfather their essential public virtues. His policy of *صلح کل* 'Universal peace' is a direct outcome of Bābur's and Humāyūn's policies of maintaining good relations with the neighbours. Similarly Akbar's intimate relations with the Rājputs are only a continuation of his two predecessors' policies towards them. Bābur had engaged the Hindus in his diplomatic services and Humāyūn had professed to be *Rākhiband-
bhāi* of the Mewār princess; Akbar formed marital alliances with several of the Rājput princesses. Bābur had ordered his soldiers to protect the Hindu subjects of the Punjab, just after its conquest and Humāyūn had befriended the Rāthōr Rāo Māldēo; and Akbar granted extensive privileges to his Hindu subjects and his Rājput

allies.¹

Again Humāyūn had married a Shī'a lady Ḥamīda Bānū. In spite of the difference in age, each was devoted to the other and the sectarian differences had never marred their conjugal relations with the result that the king had learnt to respect Shī'ism as much as his father, who in 1512-3 had dared to read a Shī'a *khutba* from the pulpit of the Jāmi' *masjid* of Samarqand and in consequence of his foolhardiness had lost his Central Asian kingdom. Akbar had inherited from his parents a regard for Shī'ism. The Shī'as in the sixteenth century, were small in number as compared with the Sunnīs and all the doings of Bairam Khān did not have the approval of the Sunnī nobles. Still from 1562 when he became his own minister, he showed a leaning for Shī'ism which increased with time. And out of this regard for Shī'ism grew his consideration for the other Muslim sects, like Sūfism and even for the non-Muslim sects. The *Ilāhī* religion is only an expression of Akbar's liberal views in religion.

Similarly, Akbar had inherited from his father and grandfather a love of architecture and other arts. In imitation of his father's Din-panāh, Akbar built the citadel and the city of Akbarābād (Agra) and reproduced the basic features of Bābur's Ārām Bāgh (Nūr-afshān) of Agra and his tomb at Kabul and in his father's garden-tomb at Delhi. The numerous structures of the early years of Akbar's reign seem to have been inspired by the Mughal building instinct. To select a few, *Khairul-manāzil* (1560), *Arab Sarāi* (1560), Adham Khān's tomb (1562), and Shamsuddīn Atka Khān's tomb (1562), may be mentioned.

In the field of painting, poetry, and literature too,

¹ e.g., his treaty with the Rājā Surjan Hāda of Boondī. See *V. S. A.* 99 and *Tod.*, Vol. II, 382-3.

Humāyūn's (and Bābur's) patronage had encouraged the artists and poets from the different parts of the Muslim world to gather at Delhi. Akbar's long and peaceful reign guaranteed competence to them and his benignity enhanced their prestige and dignity with the result that a host of poets and artists rose in Delhi in the latter half of the sixteenth century. If Akbar's reign is the golden age for Art and Literature it was because his two predecessors had placed them on a high pedestal.

CHAPTER XVII

BĀBUR'S FAMILY—HUMĀYŪN AND HIS BROTHERS

Bābur had a large family,—several wives, sons and daughters. Bābur had at least nine spouses:

(1) 'Āyisha Sulṭān Bēgam, the daughter of his uncle, Sulṭān Aḥmad M. She was betrothed to Bābur when he was only five years in age and married in March 1500. A daughter was born in 1501 but the babe died in a month. 'Āyisha left Bābur of her own accord two years later.

(2) Zainab Sulṭān Bēgam, the daughter of the vicious Sulṭān Maḥmud M. The marriage took place in 1504 and she died two years later. But even these two years were full of unhappiness, Bābur writing of her, 'she did not become very congenial.'¹

(3) Ma'sūma Sulṭān Bēgam, the daughter of S. Aḥmad M. and half-sister to 'Āyisha, Bābur's first wife. It was a love-marriage and took place in 1507. She died two years later in child-birth. The child, a daughter, was given her mother's name and lived to become later the wife of Muḥammad Zamān M.

(4) Māham Bēgam. Her parentage has not been given. She was a Shī'a and related to Shaikh Aḥmad of Jām, whom Bābur married in Herāt in 1506 while on a visit to Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāiqarā, a protagonist of Shī'ism. She had five children in all, of whom Hūmāyūn alone survived. She had exercised a great influence on her

¹ B. N., 48.

husband and was partly instrumental in thwarting the Khalīfā's schemes for depriving Humāyūn of the throne of Delhi at Bābur's death.

(5) Gulrukh Bēgam. Her parentage is not known. She was married to Bābur in 1508 or later and became mother of five children of whom, two, Kāmrān M. and 'Askarī M. reached the adult age. The first was born in 1514 and the second two years later. They both died within a few months of each other in 1557.

(6) Dildār Aghācha or Ṣālḥa Bēgam, the daughter of Sultān Maḥmud M. and sister to Zainab Sultān Bēgam, Bābur's second wife. She was married in 1509 or later and bore to her husband in all five children, most of whom lived. The two that are remembered most were Hindāl M. (1518-51) and Gulbadan Bēgam, (1523-1603). The latter's love for her mother, Humāyūn, and her own full brother, Hindāl M. was deep and sincere. She bore no goodwill to Kāmrān M.

(7) Mubārīka Bibī, the daughter of Shāh Manṣūr Yusuf-Zāi. She was married in 1519 as a token of peace between Bābur and the Yusufzāi tribes. She was an Aghācha, loved by her husband and respected by all. She bore no child probably because she had been deprived of motherhood by the administration of drugs by her jealous co-wives.¹ Mrs. Beveridge thinks she was also known as Bēga Bēgam and had been in charge of the removal of Bābur's corpse to Kabul in Shēr Shāh's reign.

(8) and (9) Gulnār Aghācha and Nārgul Aghācha. They seem to have been Circassian slaves presented to Bābur by Shāh Ṭahmāsp in 1526. Both belonged to Bābur's *ḥaram* and may have been treated as concubines.

¹ G. H. N., 266.

It is likely that Bābur had other wives besides these nine who are mentioned either in *Bābur-nāma* or in his daughter's memoirs.¹

Bābur had eighteen children of whom sixteen were born in Kābul. Of these, four were male children that survived him and except the eldest, Humāyūn, the others, Kām-rān, 'Askarī, and Hindāl were more or less of the same age and much younger than Humāyūn. This explains why in two of Bābur's earliest battles in India, Pānipat and Khānwa, Humāyūn was given the command of a whole division, while there is no mention of any of other three.

Bābur was as great a scholar as a soldier and the happy blending of the two is seen in his terse but stirring speech delivered on the eve of his final contest with Rānā Sānga. This dual training he had imparted to his sons also. They were all of them true soldiers. Humāyūn was brilliant in the earlier phase of the Gujrāt campaign and also scored a success in his final invasion of India. Kām-rān's skill won for him the battle of Qibchāq pass (1550) when Humāyūn fled away. At the siege of Tālīqān, Kām-rān's reply to Humāyūn's offer of peace was striking. He sent merely the couplet:

“Who'd to his bosom strain dominion's bride
Must kiss gleaming falchion's lip.”

'Askarī was the hero of the battle of Ghāgra, his attack from the flank being the deciding factor for the victory.

¹ There is a mention of a tenth wife named Sayyida Āfāq in Niyāz Muḥammad Khukandī's *Tārīkh-i-Shābrukhī*. See B. N., 358 No. 2.

For six months he bore the whole brunt of the Īrānī army before he surrendered to Humāyūn. At the battle of Ushtar Girām too he had valiantly supported his elder brother though both were defeated and he was captured. Hindāl too was a soldier, and was present in the battle of Qanauj and Ushtar Girām. After Humāyūn's return from Īrān, he was as zealous in Humāyūn's cause as 'Askarī in Kāmran's.

But in the sixteenth century mere soldierly skill was not enough to distinguish a Mughal prince and so it is necessary to gauge the other qualities possessed by the brothers. Let us begin with a consideration of their administrative capacities.

At the outset we may mention that Bābur practically treated the two elder brothers on terms of equality. Bābur's own words are, 'As thou (Humāyūn) knowest, the rule has always been that when thou hadst six parts, Kāmran had five; this having been constant, make no change.'¹ This was written in 1528 and no later instructions are there to suggest any alteration in this proportion. This consideration for the second son would be inexplicable unless we turn to a precedence in Sulṭān Abu Sa'id's division of his domains among his sons. While the eldest Sulṭān Aḥmad M. retained Samarqand and also the headship of the Tīmūrids, the next brother, Sulṭān Maḥmud M., was also a chief of considerable domain stretching as far south as the Hindukush.² The consideration in either case was identical—absence of an heir to the eldest brother which made the second brother a likely successor, and hence the father's desire to treat him with special consideration.

¹ B. N., 625-6.

² *Ibid.*, 47.

Humāyūn's administrative qualifications will be considered in a later chapter. Here we shall confine ourselves to the other brothers. What were Kāmrān's qualifications as an administrator? Like many other princes of the Mediaeval times born in affluence, he found himself in a responsible situation without possessing any marked ability. For twenty-three years, (1530-53) except for short intervals, he had been ruler of Kabul, for thirteen years of Qandahār, and for nine years of the Punjab. As an administrator he showed grave defects. He was actuated by the instinct of opposition at all costs to his elder brother. This prevented him from visualizing the international politics of the day or feeling sympathy with Humāyūn's misfortunes. After the battle of Chausa when the latter asked the loan of fresh Kabulī troops, there was practically no response from Kāmrān. On all later occasions, he either completely ignored the king's welfare or actively opposed him. In this opposition he went to any length. He intrigued with Shēr Shāh, Islām Shah or Shah Ḥusain Arghūn and was prepared to combine with some of them against his brother. In his hatred for him, he was so blind to the interests of the Tīmūrids as a whole, that he hoped for a generous gesture from Islām Shāh or Pīr Muḥammad Khān Uzbek, the two arch-enemies of the Mughals. It was fortunate for Humāyūn that the Afghān king did not agree to Kāmrān's proposals and the Uzbek chief was half-hearted in his support of Kāmrān. What would have been the consequence if either of the two had seriously made up his mind to drive out Humāyūn? Would he have been content with only his expulsion and allowed Kāmrān to reign instead? Kāmrān should have taken a lesson from a parallel incident in his father's career. Bābur had been invited to invade India by Daulat

Khān Lōdī and 'Ālam Khān Lōdī; but by the time, the battle of Pānipat was fought the one had wholly disappeared and the other immured in the distant fort of Qal'a-i-Zafar.

Let us next consider Kāmrān's reasons for opposition. Possibly the opposition started with a conviction of Humāyūn's incompetence after his defeat at Chausa and it must be admitted that the latter had not shown much skill at this period of his life. After the king's exile, Kāmrān considered himself entitled to be the head of the Tīmūrids and qualified to oppose one whom he despised for losing Bābur's empire. To Kāmrān Humāyūn in 1540 appeared discredited and exiled and hence beneath any consideration or sympathy. What he now hoped for was the establishment of a Mughal kingdom under his own headship.

If these were Kāmrān's arguments there would be some truth in them but he failed to notice the sterling qualities of Humāyūn as a man who prior to his defeats had also a fair military record. If Kāmrān did not lose any battle, neither had he won any so far. Also, at Dīn-panāh the king had established a new capital with new ideals, at once, moral and international in character. Delhi had replaced Samarqand and Isfahān as the intellectual centre of the Muslim world.¹ This conquest of the hearts of the *literātī* more than compensated for the loss of a battle or two. But this feature of his elder brother's character, Kāmrān could neither comprehend nor appreciate and in his blind and selfish ardour he continued his campaigns.

There were other differences between the two. Kām-

¹ G. H. P. L. Part II, 149.

rān was a cruel, unjust, treacherous and bigoted Sunnī.¹ These traits might achieve success for a time but when brought into contact with a greater personality magnanimous, benign, above all sectarian differences or petty meanness, and considerate to his nobles and subjects, they would sink into insignificance. Kāmran's cruelties in Kabul and injustice to the merchants² are a sickening record and must have lowered him in the estimation of his kinsmen and the people. Humāyūn's last public act against Kāmran, viz., destruction of his eye-sight might appear cruel but in sparing his brother's life he went against the unanimous opinion of his nobles; and we may wonder how Kāmran would have behaved if he had found Humāyūn in a like situation.

‘Askarī is a faithful replica of his full brother, Kāmran, and as consistently acted in opposition to Humāyūn. In Mediaeval India, very often the full brothers had a common policy and the case of Kāmran and ‘Askarī was no exception. While this indicated a strong affection for Kāmran, it meant at the same time absence of loyalty to his chief, Humāyūn, and if after the recapture of Qandahār, ‘Askarī was not put to death for sedition and disloyalty, he owed his life to the magnanimous disposition of the king.

At least twice Humāyūn had given him an opportunity to show his mettle. The first occasion was in Gujrāt where he had made him the viceroy, lent him the aid of some of his distinguished officers, and to strengthen his government had himself tarried in the neighbouring

¹ For illustrations see *A. N.*, 358, 501, 502, 537, 564.

² *ibid*, 501.

province of Mālwa. But 'Askarī lost the province and showed utter incompetence as an administrator. The second occasion was when during his retreat in Bengal in 1539, the king had placed him in charge of his vanguard. Here the Mirzā had met with some success; for he had taken his army safe to Mungīr.¹

That 'Askarī was somewhat better than Kāmrān may be inferred from the following considerations.

'Askarī and Kāmrān compared.

(1) He is not accused by any historian of any great cruelty to his subjects. At Qandahār he must have been popular with the citizens; otherwise the siege could not have extended to six months against the well-disciplined troops of Īrān.

(2) 'Askarī was not so insensate as to expose the innocent Akbar to the artillery fire of the enemy. In fact he had taken the earliest opportunity to remove the child and his sister, Bakhshī Bānū, from the din of the battle to the safer distance of Kabul.

(3) The battle of the Ghāgra was the third great battle that Bābur had fought in India, the first two being the battles of Pānīpat and Khānwa and much of the success was due to 'Askarī. His control of the four divisions of the Mughal army, each under its own commander, Afghān, Tūrki or Sharqi nobles, seemed perfect and the whole manœuvre of crossing the Ghāgra at a distance from the objective, Patna, and of attacking at the prearranged moment was admirably conducted and speaks of his military talents.

(4) The partial success achieved during the Mughal

¹ see *H. B.*, Vol. I, 221.

retreat from Bengal has already been referred to.

Abul Nāṣir Muḥammad Hindāl M. had been born of Dildār Āghācha Bēgam in 1518. *Hindāl M.* Bābur heard the news in March of the following year when he was in the midst of an Indian campaign. Taking it as a good omen, he gave the newborn babe the name of Hindāl. The prince was too young to take part in Bābur's battles in India and it is only at the end of the reign that we find him an administrator in Badakhshān.

On Humāyūn's accession, Hindāl had been granted the *jāgīr* of Alwar and during the king's Gujrāt campaign, he acted as his deputy at Agra and did good work in maintaining order and defeating the rebels in Hindustān. He had also accompanied Humāyūn in his Bengal campaign but had returned to Tirhoot, his *jāgīr*, shortly after. Then for a brief period in 1538-39 he lost his balance, broke the chain of Humāyūn's communication with Delhi by deserting his post in Tirhoot, returned to Agra and on the advice of his boon companions proclaimed himself king at Delhi. This was not the only blunder he committed. He killed the sage-like Shaikh Buhlūl and later, refused to go to Humāyūn's aid. After such glaring indiscretions and open betrayal of Humāyūn's cause, it is no wonder that the king was defeated at Chausa.

Hindāl then repented and stayed with Humāyūn for a time and it was at his residence in Pātar in Sindh that the king's marriage with Ḥamida Bānū was celebrated.⁴ Then again he deserted him and went away to Qandahār (1541) only to find in Kāmraṇ a more relentless brother. For the next four years he remained in surveillance and it was only after the capture of Qandahār when he escaped to Humāyūn, that he regained his freedom. Henceforth,

he remained strictly faithful to his chief and rejected all overtures from Kāmṛān and in fact his death in 1551 took place in one of his skirmishes with him. It will thus be seen from this brief sketch that Hindāl committed two grave blunders in deserting his king and jeopardizing his interests but that he made amends by his later loyal services.

It is to Humāyūn's credit that he remained patient amidst his reverses caused mainly by the disloyalty of his brothers and never could be persuaded to retaliate for the wrongs he had suffered. Whether politically the fraternal regard is commendable or not may be debated but that he had set up a softer and morally a loftier tone in his brotherly relations will not be denied. The later Shāh Jahān, Aurangzīb and their successors look heartless tyrants when compared with Humāyūn or his father.

Like the other Tīmūrīds, all the brothers were cultured princes and possessed high literary merits. This scholarly trait distinguished the Mughals from the previous 'Pathān' rulers of Delhi.

Humāyūn had written a *diwān* in Persian¹ and possibly in Tūrki as well. In the previous chapters we have quoted a few of his lines and also referred to his correction of Ḥairatī's poem.² He had also improved Jāhī Yatmiyān's poem.³ We may here consider some of his verses, that do not occur in any of the modern works.⁴

¹ Obtained through the courtesy of Mr. S. H. Askari of Patna.

² See Supra, Ch. IX.

³ *Bad. Vol. I*, 478.

⁴ For other verses see *G. H. P. L.* and the author's paper on *Humāyūn's religion* read at the first Modern Indian History Congress held in Poona in 1935.

(A) The odes:

از آن گشته بیگانه این خویش ما	حجابست از نور در پیش ما
بلاست بر جان درویش ما	تو شاهى و حسن و مد سلطنت
نمک ریختی تازه بر ریش ما	ملاحت نمودی و جان سوختی
نهاد جز این شیوه در کیش ما	وفا می‌کنیم و جفا می‌کشیم
حجابست از نور در پیش ما	همایون بروی تو چون بنگرد

- (i) Thy light hides Thee from me
So that I am a stranger to my own self.
- (ii) Thy royalty, beauty and a hundred realms
Are an affliction to my *darmesh*-like soul.
- (iii) Thou revealest Thy beauty and burneth my
soul (with yearning for Thee)
Sprinkling fresh salt on my heart's wounds.
- (iv) I keep faithful and suffer cruelty
That is the only way of our (the lover's) religion.
- (v) When Humāyūn looks on Thy face
He finds a veil of light before him.

Comment:

(i) A true appreciation of the Almighty is not possible so long as we attend to the externals and not to His essence. A sun-worshipper worships not God but His light only. One must pay attention to the Almighty and not merely to his attributes.

(ii) The glorification of the beloved (God) alone is desired and this can only be achieved by the mortification of self. Humāyūn, though a king, in reality was, like his father, a *darmesh*.

(iii) The Indian beauty may not be one of fairness of complexion. Still it ravishes the hearts of the lovers as any other kind of beauty.

(iv) A true lover fulfils his contract and refrains from asking for a similar observance from his beloved. He must be true to himself and there should be no idea of reward in his actions but only of satisfaction of right thoughts and right actions.

(v) *The same as (i).*

پشت بام فلک زمین منست	تا که گشتم جو خاک بر در تو
این زمان جاکر کمین منست	هر کجا شاه و شهریارے بود
آیت رحمت مبین منست	خط مشکین بصفه گلام
توسن چرخ زیر زین منست	نفس خرطبع را جو کردم دام

(i) Since I became the dust of thy portal,
The top of the roof of the sky has become my earth.

(ii) Wherever be a king or an emperor,
He serveth me at this moment like the meanest menial.

(iii) On thy rose-complexioned face the black streaks
of beard
Are like the illumined (Quranic) verses of Thy
mercy.

(iv) The moment I controlled the asinine passions of
my soul
I found underneath my saddle even the steed
of the firmament.

Comment:

(i) and (ii) O God, since I have laid myself low at Thy feet I find ever the high firmament under my heels. If one resigns himself to God's will and becomes passionless, he will control, even without his being aware of it, all else in the world. The mightiest monarch looks mean in comparison with the self-controlled person.

(iii) A young blooming youth instead of evoking desire should ennoble and spiritualize one's thoughts.

(iv) Once a person controls the senseless desires within him he will control even his destiny. It is the heart alone that follows no earthly code. Once it is brought under the control of the divine law, all else will follow its dictates.

سراسر شادی عالم بیکدم غم نمی‌آرد
 بنزد عمر صد ساله بیک ماتم نمی‌آرد
 غنیمت دان جوانی را که ایام خوشست اما
 ولی با عالم پیروی و پشت خم نمی‌آرد
 اگر برک وفا خواهی برو تخم کرم بنشان
 سری کو بی‌کرم باشد بیک شلغم نمی‌آرد
 کو آن تخت سلیمان و کو آن احوال موردانش
 چهل خانه زر قارون بیک جو هم نمی‌آرد
 نبودنی جنت المارا نبودنی این همایون را
 که جنت هم بسرگردانی آدم نمی‌آرد

(i) The entire joy of the world is not worth a moment's grief.

The long life of a century is no recompense for
 one moment's affliction.

(ii) Consider youth to be a blessing,
 Otherwise, nothing compensates the hunch-backed
 old age.

(iii) If thou desireth to bear away the leaf of good
 faith, sow the seed of benevolence
 For a head that is without benevolence is not
 worth a turnip.

(iv) Where is that Solomon's throne and where the
 tale of the ants?¹

¹ It refers to the well-known story of Solomon and the ants.

Qārūn's¹ forty treasures of gold are not worth
a grain of barley.

(v) Humāyūn does not consider even paradise worth
anything.

After the long-drawn sufferings of mankind."

Comment—This has been written in imitation of Ḥāfiz's ode commencing with the well-known hemistich

دَمی با غم بسر بردن جهان یکسر نمی‌آرد

'the whole world is not worth a moment's grief.' Both Ḥāfiz and Humāyūn write in a sufistic strain and emphasize the fact that since grief cannot be wholly dispensed with, a worldly life is of no value; the whole life's joy and the possession of Qārūn's treasures are of no avail. Even paradise itself is not worth a habitation if it entails a long previous suffering. What is desirable is eternal bliss by union with God. Then no question of joy and sorrow arises.

می‌نگویم دوتا که چون باشد غیر یگذاشت دوست در هر جا
خاطر خود بفرق خوی مده حق تعالی ز بنده نیست جدا
گر به بینی بچشم جمعیت نیست فرق میان ما و خدا

(i) "I shall not say 'two'. How can there be
Any one but the friend himself everywhere?"

(ii) Do not turn thy heart to the (minor) differences
of disposition;

God is not apart from his devotee.

(iii) If thou wilt see with a comprehensive eye
Thou wilt notice no distinction between us and
God."

Comment—Humāyūn says that the true friends of God have all got a common feature, viz., love for Him and fur-

¹ Qārūn, the son of Moses's paternal uncle, is proverbial for his wealth and avarice.

ther adds that man has a divinity in him and that differences of dispositions are merely superficial. In the last couplet he makes two statements, one that Humāyūn has a divinity in him and secondly that both the Irānī and the Hindu Polity assign divinity to kingship. The former signifies it by the phrase ذل الله 'the shadow of God.' Compare his correction of Jāhī Yatmiyān's line, هر که با ما ستیزد بغدادا ستیزد 'one who oppresses us oppresses God.'¹

ای حسن تو دیباجه مجموعه معنی
 لامع شده از روی تو انوار تجلی
 حاشا که جدا از تو توان زیست و لیکن
 دارم بخیالی ز جمال تو نسلی
 در مملکت حسن توئی شاه ولایت
 کردم بولای تو کنون روی تولے
 تا حسن تو در جلوه گری گشت از آن دو
 و امیق په عذرا شد و مجنون پی لیلے

- “(i) Thy beauty forms an introduction to the collection of ideas,
 Refulgent lustres have radiated from thy face
 (ii) God forbid that I should have to live apart from thee
 But if I have to, I shall console myself with thy constant thoughts.
 (iii) In the realm of beauty, thou reignest supreme
 I turn my face now towards thy friendship.²
 (iv) Since thy face manifested its lustrous beauty (irfān
 the beauties of the world)
 Wāmiq sought after ‘Uzrā and Majnūn after Laila.

¹ See *Bad. Vol. I* text, 478.

² lit. ‘I turn the face of friendship towards thy love.’

Comment—(i) The realities of the world are all God's manifestations.

(ii) I yearn for union with Thee and so long as I do not attain Thee, I shall ponder on Thee and feel Thy constant presence.

(iii) Any one who will seek nearness to God, will ultimately benefit, at least spiritually.

(iv) The beauteous women of the world are only manifestations of God's beauty. Spiritualize the yearning for your beloved like Wāmiq and Majnūn and then your love will have a divine element in it.

لعل سیراب و گوهر گانے	کی شود در مثال گوهر تو
آنچه در کائنات موجود است	نیست جانا و رای مظهر تو
.....
شکر الله که تازه شد جانم	تا شکفته است غنچه تر تو

“(Thou art) the lustrous ruby and the gem of the mine,
Who is there to be compared with thy virtues ?
Whatever exists in this universe
Is nothing but thy manifestation.

... ..

Thanks be to God that my heart has revived
By the reopening of thy fresh bud.”

Comment—This is written probably with reference to Akbar. Humāyūn had drawn up his son's horoscope, had formed an exaggerated notion of his future greatness and considered him to be the most precious product in the universe. A. Fazl later on flattered Akbar with the possession of supernatural power and divine attributes.

گفت دیوانه ز روی هوا	که غم عشق را که کرد دوا
آه از آن فتنه های زلف سیاه	وای از آن عقده های بے سرو پا
از خم موی جعد پر شکنش	الف قامت شد ست دوتا

“Said a mad fellow in a moment of passion
 ‘Who is there that can cure the affliction of love?’
 Alas for the temptations of the black curly hair,
 Alas for the intricate knots;
 Because of the ringlets of her hair
 My *alif*-like erect stature has been bent double.”

(B) The quatrains.

(1) In illustration of his pantheism or sufism

جمعست دلم با تو درون خانه در تفرقه ام بی تو بهر ویرانه
 چون با تو شدم با خودم و هشیارم در بی تو شدم بی خودم و دیوانه

“Inside my house, if I am with thee my soul is tranquil,
 Without thee I am distracted and (seek) wilderness.
 In thy company I am sober and realize myself
 But without thee I am out of my senses and insane.”

Explanation—In union with God man knows himself and acts rationally and when he forgets Him he acts like a mad man, though to the outside world this does not always appear.

ای دل ز حضور یار فیروزی مکن در خدمت او بصدق دلسوزی کن
 هر شب بخيال دوست خرم بنشین هر روز بوصل یار نوروزی کن

“O beloved ! Rejoice that thy friend (lover) is present
 with thee,

(Rather) zealously and with sincerity of heart engage
 thyself in his service.

Every night rejoice in the thought of thy friend,
 Every day celebrate a *naurōz* in honour of thy meet-
 ing thy lover.”

ای آنکه در دخول بر خود بستی با توبه و زهد عانیت بنشستی
 هرگز نکند فائده این طور ترا از خود جو گنشتی بخدا پیوستی

“O thou that hast shut the door of entrance upon
thee,
And sitteth content with thy repentance and
abstinence
This sort of life will never do thee good
Pass by thyself and thou shalt merge into divinity.”

Explanation—Neither abstinence nor repentance will
avail thee. Get rid of egotism, forget thyself and thou shalt
attain godhood.

ای ز رقیب خود جدا خواهی شد پیوسته بشیوه هدا خواهی شد
پیغمبریت دست نخواهد دادن از خود گذر آن لحظه خدا خواهی شد

“O soul thou must get away from thy rival
And get into the habit of ceaselessly instructing
others.

Thou must not attain prophetship
(For), if thou passeth by thyself thou shalt attain
divinity.”

مایم صفات حی مختار و دود ظاهر شده از آئینه نور شهود
چون یک شجریم در باغ وجود ما فرع وجودیم و خدا اصل وجود

“I possess the qualities of the eternal, the omnipotent
and the all-loving
And like the light from a mirror, am His manifesta-
tion.

In this garden of existence, I am but one single tree,
Nay we all are branches of the (eternal) life and He
its root (or source).”

Comment—This is the essence of the sufistic doctrine
akin to Vedantism of the Hindus.

(2) In praise of God

ای وادی لامکان مکانت دور ازل و ابد زمانت
ای هستی بی نشان مطلق شد هستی بی نشان نشانت

“O the Dweller of the vale of inexistence !
 Thy duration is from the commencement to the com-
 pletion of eternity.
 O existence with absolutely no trace.
 Verily, this existence without trace is thy trace.”

ای آنکه مقید زمان و زمانی کس را نبود لایق ذاتت سخنی
 جانی که نبی حق ثنای تو بگفت کی شرح صفات تو کند همچو منی

“No one who is encompassed by time (i.e., man),
 Can utter appropriate words to describe Thee.
 Where the Prophet himself (Muḥammad) has sung
 Thy praise,
 How can I, the insignificant, unfold Thy attributes.”

ای خالق جمله خلائق تو مصدر کل و خلق مطلق
 حالتی روی نمود از لاریب کاندرا آن نه شهادتست نه غیب

“O the Creator of all the creatures !
 Thou art the absolute creation and the origin of every-
 thing.
 Certainty (about Thy existence) has produced the
 state,
 Wherein there is neither presence nor absence (i.e.,
 neither evidence nor concealment).”

(3) In praise of Muḥammad

ای سرور کاینات در اصل وجود حقا که توئی حبیب حق معبود
 برخیز نما جمال عالم آرا زیرا که توئی ز خلق عالم مقصود

“O sovereign of this universe from its commencement !
 By God, thou art the beloved of the Eternal and the
 Adored.
 Arise and reveal thy world-adorning grace;
 It is for thee that others of the world were creat-
 ed.”

سلطان سریر انبیائی تو خورشید سپهر اولیائے تو
مردم همه پیرو طریق تو آند ده شرع بخلاق ده نمائی تو

“Thou art the Sultān of the throne of the prophets;
And the sun of the firmament of the saints.
All men are followers of thy path;
Thou showest the path of Muslim Law or religion
to all men.”

(4) With reference to self

من هیچ نیم هیچ نمیدارم نام بر فضل تو مانیم شب و روز دوام
آنکه بحق حرمت مهتر لام بر بنده همایون برسان فیض تمام

“I am nobody and bear no name,
(Only), I depend on Thy grace day and night;
Then, out of consideration for the Prophet (Muḥam-
mad)¹

Grant favour on Thy slave, Humāyūn.”

یارب که قبول دل درویشان ده وین ریش دل شکسته را! درمان ده
من هیچ نکویم این بده یا آن ده چیزے که رضای تست در وی آن ده

“O Lord! Make this heart-broken person acceptable
to the *darweshes*

And grant a cure to his wounds.

I will not suggest that this be granted or that
Grant whatever thy will may dictate.”

ای آنکه همیشه خاطر طالب تست
چشم و دل و عقل و هوش من راغب تست
از بهر جفا کردن اغیار و رقیب
این بنده یکی ز حاجبان حاجب تست

لولاک لما خلقت الافلاک of the Ḥadis, لولاک probably stands for

(6) We will close with two more quatrains

“O thou! Whose countenance is a pattern of the
morning glory
 May the gates of victory be opened to thee;
 My constant prayers are for thy happiness,
 A kingship like Faridūn’s and a longevity like
Noah’s.”

“Wherever there is the foundation of a house,
The revolutions of the transient celestial spheres
 have scattered it to the winds;
No one is (truly) happy with an abode or a habitation,
 tion,
He (alone) is fortunate who is happy with his beloved.
 ed.”

his famous lines complimenting the king after the grant of the Punjab¹ and a few other verses. We shall reproduce here some other odes and quatrains.

¹ See *A. N.*, 125 or *H. B. Vol. I*, 56.

(A) The odes:

رسید مژده که ایام وصل یار آمد	گشت فصل دی و موسم بهار آمد
ز عنایب چمن ناله و فغان برخاست	مگر ز پیک نامه نامه بهار آمد
ز سبزه در قدم افتاد فرش زنگاری	شکوفه سیم و بکف از پی نثار آمد

“The tidings reach me that the trysting moment with
the beloved has come.

That winter is gone yielding place to spring.

The nightingale in the garden cries out in anguish,
Perhaps the courier of the Zephyr brings the mes-
sage of spring

The green carpet from the excess of verdure lies
under his feet,

And the silvery buds come to hand to be strewn
about.”

کند سیل غم هجران تو از بنیادم	نظری کن که براه تو ز پا افتادم
خاک گشتم بسر راه تو بر من بگذر	پیش از آندم که دهد باد فنا بر بادم
منم آن مفلس شیدا که درین دیر کهن	حاصل کون و مکانرا بهوایت دادم
دیده با یاد رخت از دو جهان پوشیدم	چشم بر عارض خوابان جهان بکشادم
باز شوری لب شیرین تو می انگیزد	می شود تازه مگر قاعده فرهادم
من کیم تا کنم از تو طمع مهر و وفا	این قدر بس که بجور و ستم معتادم
کامران نخل قدش چون بنظر می آید	فارغ از جلوه شمشاد و ز سرو آزادم

“The flood of the anguish of thy separation uproots
me from the foundation.

Cast a glance at me, lying prostrate on thy path.

Reduced to dust on thy path, tread on me,

Ere the wind scatters me away.

I am that love-lorn beggar, who

Has bartered away both the worlds for a desire of
thee.

When I close my eyes from both the worlds at the
remembrance of thy face,
(really) I open them on the cheeks of the beauties of
the world,
Again, a clamour (or longing) is set up by thy sweet
lips,
Possibly Farhād's code will be renewed for me¹
Who am I to hope for love and faithfulness from
thee,
It is enough that I am accustomed to thy cruelty and
tyranny.
Kamran, when his palm-like built comes into my
view.
I care not for the blandishments of the box or the
cypress plants."

باز دامان خود آن سرو بیالا زده‌است
کس بدامانش مگر دست تمنا زده‌است
کشش عشق بود آنکه مه کنعانی
عاقبت دست بدامان زلیخا زده‌است
عیب ما چند کنی قصه صنعان بشنو
که بیک جلوه رهش دختر ترسا زده‌است
لبت آن آب حیات است که با خضر خط
لاف از شیوه اعجاز مسیکا زده‌است
طلعت پیر چه انوار تجلی دارد
گر نه شعله ز دلش آتش موسی زده‌است
کامران از چه سبب هوش بد آن مغیچه داد
گر نه در دیر مغان ساغر صہبا زده‌است

¹ There is a play on the word, *shirīn*; it has reference to sweetness as also to the famous beloved of Farhād.

- “(i) Again that cypress-statured has gathered up her skirts,
It seems that someone has been trying to touch them with the hand of desire.
- (ii) It was the attraction of (true) love that made the moon of Canaan (Joseph)
At last grasp the skirt of Zulaikhā (i.e., fell into love with her).
- (iii) How long wilt thou blame me; listen to the story of Sin‘ān
How he was led astray by one glance of the fire-worshipper’s daughter.
- (iv) Thy lips are that font of life which together with the *khiz̄r* of the down of thy cheek.¹
Boasts of working miracles like Jesus.
- (v) What lustre can the guide’s face possess
If his heart be not illumined by the pillar of light.²
- (vi) Kāmran, why hast thou given away thy senses to the fire worshipper’s daughter (the beloved)
If thou weren’t quaffing red wine in the tavern of the fire-worshippers.”

خوشکالی ماتم زدگان از الم او ست
خوشوقت اسیری که گرفتار غم او ست
گویا رقم خامه مشکین رقم او ست
آن کس که همه کار جهان در قلم او ست
هر جا که نهد پا سر ما و قدم او ست

آسودگی خسته دلان از ستم او ست
خوشکالم از اندوهش و شادم بغم او
زین نامه مرا شوق دگر روی نمودست
کردست به تیغ تو رقم کشتن ما را
هر سو که رود سایه صفت در پی اویم

¹ There is a play on the word *khiz̄r*.

² That illumined and led the way to the Israelites.

“(i) The contentment of the heart-sore comes from his
oppression,

The happiness of the afflicted lies in grief from him.

(ii) Happy in anxiety of him and glad in moments of
grief,

Blessed is the prisoner who is fettered by his grief.

(iii) This letter aroused in me pleasures of a different
nature,

As if the writing were from his musk-scattering pen.

(iv) He has destined my death by thy sword,

In whose pen are the affairs of the state (the world)

(v) In whichever direction he goes, shadow-like I fol-
low.

Wherever he places his steps, there are his feet and
my head.”

این جهان از تو هویدا و تو از عالم پاک	هست در معرفت ذات تو عاجز ادراک
دست در حبل متین کرمیت خواهم زد	روز محشر که سر خویش برآرم از خاک
شعله شمع درونم بجایان آتش زد	من که از سوز درون آه زدم آتش ناک

“(i) This world emanates from thee, but thou art free
of it;

The intellect is helpless to comprehend thy nature.

(ii) I shall aim at a firm clasp of thy clemency

On the day of resurrection when I raise my head
out of the dust (of the tomb).

(iii) Within me burns the flame of the candle that set
ablaze the whole world,

When I heave a sigh of anguish I give out fire.”

مرا چون کوه دردی از تو بر دل	چه سان بار سفر بندم بمحفل
ز زلف او گسستن چون توانم	چو دل بستم بآن مشکین سلاسل
ده و رسم صلاح از من مجوئید	ز دیوانه نباید کار عاقل
چو رخسار ترا یکبار دیدم	شدم یکبارگی از خویش غافل

ز صورت چون بمعنی راه بودی بار پیوند و از اغیار بکسل
 ز گریه غرق بکسر سرشکم درین دریا ندارم فکر ساحل
 از آن دو کامران قدم دوتا شد که با آن طاق ابرو گشت مایل

“(i) Since I carry a mountain-load of anguish on thy
 account

How shall I pack my baggage on the camel-litter !

(ii) How can I free myself from the curls of her hair,
 Since I tied myself with the black chain.

(iii) Do not seek of me the path of canon of rectitude
 The affairs of the prudent are not solved by the in-
 sane

(iv) The moment I saw thy cheek
 I forgot all about myself.

(v) Since now thou hast turned from the external to the
 inner imports

Unite with Him and give the slip to the strangers

(vi) Drowned in the sea of my own tears
 I think not of the sea-beach.

(vii) My stature, O Kāmran, is bent
 Because I (lit. the stature) got enamoured of those
 arched eye-brows.”

که جان حزین مرا درخور است	بیا ساقی آن می که جان پرور ست
پی قصد جان حزین منست	بمن ده که دوران بکین منست
که محنت زوالیست و عشرت فزائی	بیا ساقی آن جام گیتی نمائی
که پیمانه عمر خواهد شکست	بمن ده که گویم خروشان و مست
ز دینی و عقبی خلاصی دهد	بیا ساقی آن می که خاصی دهد
بود مستی او رباید مرا	بمن ده که اینها نهاید مرا
که ایام عیش است و فصل بهار	بیا ساقی آن آب حیوان بیار
زمان می ارغوانی گذشت	بمن ده که دور جوانی گذشت
مغنی و مطرب بتام منست	بمن ده که دوران غلام منست

“(i) O cupbearer ! Come (and give me) the life-support-
ing wine

Which is suitable for my grieved heart.

(ii) Give it to me; for, time bears a malice against me
And aims at my sorrowful life.

(iii) O cupbearer ! Come (and bring) that world-display-
ing cup,

For, it lessens misery and adds to pleasure.

(iv) Give it to me so that when drunk and out of senses.
I may sing,

‘The goblet of life would one day break.’

(v) O cupbearer ! Come (and bring) that wine which
confers distinction

And releases one from the bonds of the two worlds

(vi) Give it to me; for, these (the two worlds) I do not
want,

I only wish the strong wine to steal away my senses.

(vii) O cupbearer ! Come and bring that clixir of life.

For this is the time of pleasure and the season is
spring.

viii) Give it to me; for the age of the youth is past

And the days of the red wine also are over.

(ix) Give it to me ; for time is now my slave

The singers and minstrels are here to minister to
my desire.”

(B) The quatrains.

چشم بر راه تو داریم شد ایامی چند	وقت آن شد که نهی جانب ما گامی چند
بهر مید دل من دانه خال تو بس است	هر دم از زلف منه بر سر آن دامی چند

“I have been expecting thee for a fairly long time

It is time that thou put a few steps towards me.

To ensnare my heart, a single mole of thine is ample

Dost not thou place every moment nets of curly hair
for its capture.”

بوئی تو شمیدم از نسیم سکری زان بو شدم بگلشن دیدوری
هر سو که نظر فکندم از بیتخبری در چشم من آمدی زهی جلوه‌گری

“I inhale thy fragrance in the morning Zephyr
And drawn by it, repaired to the garden;
To whichever quarter I cast my casual glance
Lo! Thou wert manifest (in full glory).”

Let us now turn to the third brother. ‘Askarī, with all his faults, was a cultured Mughal prince,¹ and was noted for his generosity. Because of this trait the chronogram of his birth was found in *بادشاه دریادل* ‘king ‘Askarī, bountiful as the sea.’² Like the two elder brothers, he also composed poems and we give below a few specimens.

(1) An ode

تا کرد خدا روزی من وادی غم را	در عشق صلا هست عرب را و عجم را
مجنون چو نظر کرد سوی ناته لیلی	از دیدن او کرد فراموش الم را
گفتی برخش ماه تمامست برابر	در حضرت او عرض مکن دعوه کم را
.....
چون سکری ای مه هوس روی تو کردیم	در عالم هستی چو نهادیم قدم را

“Since God has destined for me the vale of sorrow
I invite the Arabs and the non-Arabs to love (like me)³
When Majnūn glanced at Laili’s camel,
He forgot all his woes.
You said that on her face is (the brightness of) the full⁴
moon

¹ For a praise of ‘Askarī see S. S.

² The year of birth comes out to be 922 A. H. (1516 A.D.)

³ The ode was probably written when ‘Askarī was leaving for Arabia through Īrān. See Ch. XIII.

O ! Do not mention the claim of the lesser (the moon)
in her presence.

... ..

Like 'Askarī, O Moon ! I long for thy face.
From the day that I had set my foot into this
world."

(2) A quatrain

ای عسکری از مست مدامی خوش باش
در معتقد باده و جامی خوش باش
گفتی بخوابات نباشم بی او
با یار اگر در ینمقامی خوش باش

"O 'Askarī ! If (thou art) unceasingly drunk, mayst
thou be happy
Happy in the company of the wine and the cup.
Thou speakest that thou art never without him (the
beloved) in the tavern,
If thou art there with thy beloved, mayst thou be
happy."

(3) A few stray couplets

چنین که خوی گرفتم باشنائی تو هلاک میکنم عاقبت جدائی تو

Now that I am so used to thy company
Thy separation at length kills me."

چنان بیخود شدم از دوری آن گلزار امشب
که هر دم گریها رو میدهد بی اختیار امشب

"I am so beside myself with the separation of the rose-
cheeked (the beloved) this night
That involuntary tears escape in ceaseless flow."

سرو قد تو مایل اهل نیاز نیست نازیست در قد تو که در سرو ناز نیست

There is an elegance in thy person that is not in the graceful cypress."

“Thy young figure constantly attains a perfection;
Truly Rectitude has no decline.”¹

زان قطرهٔ شبنم که نسیم سحری
تا بر درخ گل چکاند ای رشک پری

از آب جدا کرد بصد حیلہ گری
حقا که هزار بار پاکیزہ تری

By God ! Thou art a thousand fold more beautiful.”

¹ There is a pun on the word *دراست*

nounced as a triumph of engineering skill and though much of it has been washed away by the encroachments of the river, still a portion of it is used as a rest-house. Another is the *Nau-lakhā* palace, so called because nine lacs of rupees are supposed to have been spent on it. It was spacious and so tasteful in its decoration that a hundred years later, the fastidious Āsaf Khān, the builder of the magnificent Nishātbāgh of Kashmir chose to occupy it. There is also a building in Qandahār known as Chahal-zīna which bears the inscriptions of Kāmran, 'Askarī and Akbar and is supposed to have been built by the two brothers.¹

From what has been narrated above, it is clear that all the brothers possessed great merits and that standing by himself, each would be considered a paragon of virtues. In military skill, administration, learning, and other cultural attainments, each had a distinguished record. What marked out Humāyūn among them was his extraordinary virtues, which refused to be swayed by the baser passions or to give way to the despair of the moment. In all his actions, we notice a self-control and philosophic perseverance indicating the loftiness of his soul. The high standard of public morality set up by Bābur was maintained by Humāyūn and was passed on to Akbar and Jahāngīr. When once Shāh Jahān abandoned it and took to more cruel and selfish ways, he unfortunately became a model to his successors. If Kāmran has been condemned in this chapter as the worst of the four brothers, it is not because of his want of ability but because of his senseless cruelty and general inferiority in the moral virtues of a more personal character.

¹ See *Miftāḥ-ut-Tawārīkh* by Beale.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PROMINENT WOMEN OF HUMĀYŪN'S TIME

One of the characteristics of the Mughal period in India is the large number of women that appear in history. The fact was that the Indian Mughals, though settled amidst new surroundings, had not entirely given up their Central Asian tradition of a nomad life. One of the effects of this tradition was considerable freedom for the women. The Mughals were sociable by race and freely mixed with their women and made no distinction in the early education of the boys and girls. In their infancy the girls were educated along with the boys and the *Qurān* and one or two other religious books were learnt by rote. Though originally Turks, hailing from Central Asia, they were soon influenced by the culture and the language of Īrān. The Tīmūrid Sultān Husain Bāiqarā (d. 1506)—the beau idéal of Bābur's—and Bāiqarā's children had ruled in Khurāsān, at one time the foremost province of Īrān, and the Uzbek invasion under Shaibānī Khān, in the first decade of the sixteenth century, had led to a close union between the Tīmūrids and Shāh Isma'il and his son, Shāh Ṭahmāsp. The results of this alliance were far-reaching. On the one side Bābur and his son, protected from the west, were free to carry on their government peacefully at Delhi; on the other the Mughals continued to study and cultivate the Īrānian literature and religion. Their toleration of Shī'ism was a unique feature in that age and in their admiration for

the Irānian culture they adopted their language also. Thus it is that we find that gradually the Mughal court dress, and etiquette were tinged with Irānian colours. Persian became the court language, though in private life the immigrants from Central Asia for sometime continued to speak the language of their native land. Thus it is that almost all the writings of the period except the *Bāburnāma* and one or two others were written in Persian and not in Arabic or Turkī. This study of Persian and memorizing of the Arabic religious texts were undertaken at a very early age. In the case of the girls, since their education came to an end with their marriage, the opportunities of mastering the language were not many. As a girl would be married at the age of puberty, i.e., from 14 to 17 and as every girl expected an early settlement in life, she did not devote herself whole-heartedly to her studies. Consequently her knowledge of Persian in many cases was merely superficial. Even Gulbadan Bēgam, the only woman-biographer of the sixteenth century, is incorrect in her spellings and is clumsy in her expressions; but as the study usually spread over ten years or more and Persian was spoken in and outside the court and in dealings with the large number of the Irānīs that thronged in Delhi, a touch was maintained with Irān by even the royal ladies and their early study was not entirely wasted though high proficiency was not attained.

After marriage, the life of a Mediaeval woman, whether Muslim or Hindu, was somewhat prosaic. Her main business was to look after the household and take care of their children and so they could spare less time for literary pursuits. Even epistolary correspondence with the husband was not maintained.¹ The royal women, of course

¹ G. H. N., 68a says that the authoress had never written to her

had ample leisure and though much of it was wasted in idle gossips or lazy loiterings, a few occupied themselves more usefully. Singing, playing on the musical instruments, recitation, story-telling, book-reading, verse-making and embroidery were practised though it would be too much to expect great skill in any of them. The palace included a large enclosed area and formed a miniature town where lived the royal princesses, and women of various professions; thus we get clerks, soldiers, archers, jugglers and wrestlers all contributing to the comforts of the inmates.¹ Some members of the royal household would utilize their more than ample leisure in archery, playing polo, making of the thumb-ring² or would go to the women's bazaar for marketing. In the seclusion of the palace, fancy had full play on every individual and we sometimes read of unusual pursuits e.g., of wearing men's clothes and staging of a drama. If any woman was dissatisfied with her husband or with the surroundings, she had the choice of quitting him or the palace altogether.³

The residence of a large number of women in the rigid seclusion of the palace sometimes led to intrigues and mutual recriminations and at least on one occasion Bābur had to send for all his women⁴ from Kabul out of 'considerations of policy and peace.' The Mughal princesses in the palace represented several generations, e.g., in Humāyūn's time they consisted of his grand-aunts, aunts, step-mothers, sisters, wives and daughters of the king.

husband and that her handwriting was unknown to him.

¹ See *C. H. I. III* 362 for an illustration. Akbar's *zanāna* contained 5,000 women.

² *G. H. N.* mentions these pursuits.

³ Bābur's first wife, 'Āyisha Sultān Bēgam, had left him of her own accord. See *B. N.*, 36.

⁴ On one occasion they counted 96. See *G. H. N.*, IIa.

Most of them had separate suites of rooms, a number of slaves and an appropriate allowance. This system was later on worked out to a precision by the fertile mind of Akbar. Under Humāyūn it had not been so fully organized and out of his innate kindness, he met all the ladies together either in the tent or hall of his mother, or of one of the step-mothers, sisters, aunts and grand-aunts. He had usually fixed Sundays, Tuesdays, and Fridays for the purpose and each meeting lasted till the third watch of night and when it ended, very often, each member of the assembly including the king slept in his or her seat. While these gatherings had made Humāyūn popular with his elder relations, it had also led to complaints. His wives—and he had at least eight of them—could hardly meet their husband either singly or together and when Bēga Bēgam, his chief queen till the appearance of Ḥamīda Bānū, drew his attention to his neglect of them, he was furious, scolded her roundly and obtained a written promise from each one of his wives that no complaint should ever be made on the score of his negligence. This was when he was a young man of twenty-six and might be expected to take greater interest in the company of the young people. The fact was that Humāyūn's queens in his early reign did not dominate him as Ḥamīda Bānū did at a later period or as Bābur's queen, Māham Bēgam, had done during the whole of her husband's reign.

Humāyūn's assemblies with the womenfolk not only wasted much of his time but also had other reactions. One was that the habit of keeping late hours upset the next morning's routine and as these assemblies were held frequently, he gradually developed the habit of unpunctuality and neglected to pay attention to the details

The effect of the assemblies.

of the administration. This inclination to irregularity was aggravated by the equally pernicious habit of opium-eating. The neglect of administration reached its height in his Bengal campaign, when he lost touch with his followers for weeks and months together. While in Bengal, he never actually realized that situated as he was in a strange land it was essential for him to present himself daily to his people and pay sedulous attention to their comfort and satisfaction. What he actually did was just to bury himself in his palace and hold merry feasts and joyous gatherings. Again, by too frequent a contact with his women, he had lost the more virile qualities of a leader. In the first period of his reign, when these women assemblies were frequently held, he was marked by a vacillation in his state policy, a readiness to reprieve the rebels and a fondness for the introduction of silly or useless innovations.¹ It was only when this kind of life was changed by his defeats that he had to reform his ways. Of course, Kāmran's open defiance and the king's helpless running about in Multān and Sind gave him food for thought and it was in Sind that he found two of his earnest well-wishers in Bairam Khān and Hamīda Bānū. Gradually these two introduced a change in his mode of life, obtained aid for him from Irān and then made him win back Qandahār, Kabul, the Punjab and Delhi.

It must be remembered that Humāyūn could obtain Hamīda Bānū's hand after some difficulties. At the very first meeting, the king had fallen in love with her and expressed his desire to marry her. But the girl, only 14 years of age, would not agree, her refusal being strengthen-

¹ For illustration see *Kh.* 34-6, 39, 43, 48, 61, 72-6, 110, 114.

ed by Hindāl's angry protests against the king's proposal. But when at last she had been won over by Hindāl's mother and the marriage took place, Ḥamīda became reconciled to her husband and served him faithfully till the end.

It may be noticed that Aḥmad of Jām¹ through his women descendants, had exercised much latent influence on Bābur and Humāyūn. The saint had provided three queens to them, Māham Bēgam,² Bēga Bēgam, and Ḥamīda Bānū. As an interesting fact it may be stated that when Bēga Bēgam had been separated from her husband at the battle of Chausa, she had fallen into the hands of Shēr Shāh. The latter treated her generously and sent her back to Humāyūn with an assurance that she had not been molested in any way and with the request that she be restored to her former rank. Humāyūn took the Afghān king at his word and restored the lady to her proper place in the palace. The anecdote throws light on the character of both Humāyūn and Shēr Shāh and raises them both in our estimation.

We shall now take up some of the more noted women of the day in greater detail.

Māham Bēgam was Bābur's chief queen and had borne Humāyūn the heir-apparent to him. She was truly regal, accompanied her husband even in his distant campaigns, e.g.,

Māham Bēgam.

¹ For a description of the saint see

تقصار جیود الاحرار من مزار جنود الابرار

It is stated there that he had reclaimed 1,80,000 of his disciples from their evil ways.

² Married under Sultān Ḥusain Bāiqarā of Herāt's patronage. Both Māham and Sultān Ḥusain were Shī'as. See *B. H. P. L. IV*; 63.

to Badakhshān and Transoxiana.¹ Because several of her own children had died one after the other, she claimed the expected child of Dildār Bēgam and obtained Bābur's consent to her claim. When the child was born and named Abul Nāṣir Muḥammad Hindāl, Māham adopted him as her own. When Bābur sent for his womenfolk from Kabul Māham accompanied by Gulbadan Bēgam came in advance of the main body. The queen on this occasion had made her own arrangements for travel and had issued *farmāns* and hence has been—perhaps playfully—called *walī* by Bābur.² After his death, she resided in Agra in Bāgh-i-Nūrafshān³ till her death in May 1533, and supervised the daily recitation of the Qurān and the congregational prayers at the tomb. The *‘ulamā* and the *qārīs* who resided there were supplied with food twice daily from her own kitchen. She was helped in her supervision by Bibī Mubārīka, another of Bābur's wives.

During these two years and a half that she survived her husband, she played an important role. She helped her son, Humāyūn, to get over the troubles at the time of accession by the grant of *khilats* and titles to the nobles on a lavish scale. She arranged the details of the festivities in connection with Humāyūn's accession and its two anniversaries that she lived to see. According to her step-daughter street-decoration on a large scale was one of her introductions. Māham died on May 8, 1533.

After Māham's death, the principal lady in the palace, the Bādshāh Begam of the later period, was Khānzāda Bēgam. She

Khānzāda Bēgam.

¹ G. H. N. says that she was to Bābur what ‘Āyisha was to Muḥammad.

² B. N., 650, 655.

³ The modern Rām Bāgh.

had a chequered career. When she was surrendered to the Uzbeks by Bābur as a price of his unmolested departure from Samarqand after his defeat at Sar-i-pul (1501), she was espoused by Shaibānī Khān.¹ By him, she had a son named Khurram Shāh. At the age of five, Khurram was given charge of the Balkh province. Differences arose between Shaibānī and Khānzāda mainly because, in the perpetual quarrel of the Tīmūrids and the Uzbeks, the Bēgam instead of reconciling herself to her new relations, still clung to the old and prided herself on the superior culture of her paternal relations. After a few years, Shaibānī Khān finding his patience exhausted divorced her but even then he felt pity on her and married her to one of his officers, Sayyid Hādī Khwāja. Both Shaibānī and the Sayyid fell in the battle of Merv, December 1510 and the victor, Shāh Isma‘il, courteously sent Khānzāda now 27 years old, to Bābur. In a few years time her son, Khurram Shāh, also died. Next she married Maḥdī Khwāja, a trusted follower of Bābur’s, whom he had served as Dīwān and also as general of an army.² She stayed with her brother, Humāyūn, for the rest of her life and after Māham Bēgam’s death became the chief lady in the palace and as such carried out the late Māham’s wishes of marrying Hindāl to Sultānam, Maḥdī Khwāja’s sister. After Humāyūn’s expulsion from Delhi, she stayed for a short time with him and then left for Kabul to live with Kāmrān and on the king’s return from Irān, at the Mirzā’s request successfully negotiated favourable terms for ‘Askarī.

¹ According to *Shaibānī-nāma* it was a love-match and had been arranged before Bābur’s defeat.

² B. N., 704 n. 3 where Mrs. Beveridge quotes the authority of an anonymous ‘*Life of Shāh Isma‘il Ṣafavī*.’

Possibly if she had lived longer, she might have reconciled Humāyūn and Kāmrān but her death in 1545 put an end to these hopes and we find the two brothers afterwards engaged in a war to the finish. She seems to have been an outspoken lady and though under Kāmrān's protection had spoken in Humāyūn's favour, when the Mirzā was insisting on Hindāl's reading the *kebutba* in his (Kāmrān's) name.¹ Mrs. Beveridge calls her 'sad, wise and trusted'. In the 'mystic' feast she sat on a gold-embroidered divan along with her nephew. Her position in Humāyūn's household was what Mumtāz Mahal's (and Jahānāra's, after Mumtāz's death) had been in Shāh Jahān's reign. In her last days she doted on her grand-nephew, Akbar, for his resemblance to Bābur and took affectionate care of him so long as she was alive.

Next we may consider the three queens of Humāyūn

Bēga Bēgam; Hamīda Eānū; Māh-chuchak Eēgam. together: (1) Bēga Bēgam, (2) Hamīda Bānū and (3) Māh-chuchak Bēgam.

The first was a Shī'a wife of his youth and remained the chief queen till Hamīda Bānū's arrival. Later on, she was entitled Hājī Bēgam which shows that even in the midst of material prosperity she had not omitted her religious duties. She too was an outspoken lady and had complained of Humāyūn's neglect of her and his other wives. But the complaint produced no result, nor could she obtain forgiveness for Zāhid Bēg, the husband of her sister.² In the battle of Chausa she had been captured by Shēr Shāh and was honourably sent back to her husband. Probably it was in her absence that Humāyūn married Hamīda Bānū when naturally, Bēga Bēgam's

¹ G. H. N., 52a.

² See H. B. Vol. I, 216 n. 1.

influence declined. After the king's death, his tomb was built under the Bēgam's supervision and in order to provide a solace to the soul of the dead, she founded a college in the building itself, built '*Arab Sarāi* for the accommodation of the Arab travellers or traders to the capital and provided them with free board.

Hamīda Bānū, though only a girl of fourteen at the time of her marriage, had immediately afterwards secured an ascendancy over her husband's heart. This was partly due to the birth of a son to her and partly to her services in Irān. Her being a Shī'a had softened the hearts of the Shāh of Irān and his sister, Sultān Khānam. The amiability, piety, intelligence and contented nature of the Bānū had made an impression on the Khānam and evoked interest in her and her husband's cause. Hamīda Bānū was a hardy woman and rode a camel or a horse in her journey to Persia. Though young in age, she was fairly literate and in writing her memoirs Gulbadan Bēgam makes at least one reference to her.¹ When, after the capture of Qandahār in 1545, Humāyūn started for Kābul, Hamīda Bānū remained behind to represent her husband's interest in the management of the district.

Most of Hamīda Bānū's life was passed in Akbar's reign. It is said that the Bānū had a share in Māham Anagā's plot that released Akbar of Bairam Khān's tutelage. Doting on her only son, she wielded great influence on him, which may have had something to do with Akbar's leanings to Shī'ism. She lived till 1604 and was followed to the grave by her son within a year.

Māh-chuchak Bēgam was married to Humāyūn rather late in his life, (1546) remained attached to her

¹ See G. H. N., 39a.

husband, bore him four daughters and two sons and carefully nursed him in his illness at Shākh_hdān.¹ In Akbar's reign she had chosen to stay in Kabul granted to her son, Muḥammad Ḥakīm M., in *jagīr*. Since the latter was an infant, being born so late as 1554, his mother acted as regent. She had great difficulties in the management of the province; for adventurers appeared one after the other, the last of whom, Mīr Shāh Abul Ma'ālī, instead of showing any gratitude for the warm welcome extended to him and for the marriage of her daughter with him, killed her.

Dildār Āghācha Bēgam and her talented daughter, Gulbadan Bēgam, also were interesting personages. The first, also called *Dildār Bēgam and her daughter, Gulbadan Bēgam.* Ṣāliḥa Sultān Bēgam,² was Bābur's wife and had borne to him five children. Abu Nāṣit Muḥammad Hindāl, her only surviving male child, had been taken away by Māham Bēgam to be brought up as her own. Dildār appears to have been a sensible woman and had rebuked her son, Hindāl, for many of his foolish pranks and had once gone so far as to wear a mourning dress when she could not prevent her son from rebelling against Humāyūn and declaring himself an independent king. She had also been instrumental in obtaining the consent of Ḥamīda Bānū and Hindāl to Humāyūn's marriage with the Bānū, and had carried on negotiations between Hindāl and Kāmraṇ³.

Gulbadan Bēgam is remembered as the solitary⁴ Muslim woman-historian of Mediaeval India. She wrote her *Humāyūn-nāma* at Akbar's bidding for Abul Faḥl's

¹ See Supra Ch. XI.

² See B. N., 713.

³ G. H. N., 51b, and 52a.

use. It is a unique work and gives us an interesting picture of the lives of the Mughal women of her time, e.g., she tells us (1) of Māham Bēgam's cordial relations as head of Bābur's household with the co-wives and step-children; and (2) of her own influence on her husband, Khizr Khwāja Khān. Though married at the age of 15 or 16 she had continued to stay with her mother¹ and it had never marred her relations with her husband. In fact it was at her express desire that the Khan had taken Humāyūn's side when his two other brothers, Yāsīn Ḥasan (ʿAq Sultān) and Maḥdī Sultān were on Kāmraṇ's side. She had spoken thus to her husband, 'Beware a thousand times, beware of thinking of separating yourself from the Emperor' and felt satisfied that the Khān 'kept to what she had said.'

Gulbadan expresses her affection for Hindāl, her full brother, in a characteristic fashion. It is true that she was dearly attached to Humāyūn also but where Hindāl was concerned, she was blind to everyone else. She cursed Kāmraṇ for her brother's death and called him a monster. She believed in the saintly Shaikh Buhlūl's treachery and justified his murder by Hindāl and assumed the latter's departure from Sind for Qandahār to have been with Humāyūn's consent. Her love for Hindāl makes her describe the last scene of Hindāl's heroism and death where the Bēgam could never have been actually present. At his death, she expresses her grief, in an exaggerated fashion, 'would to heaven that merciless sword had touched my heart and eyes or Sa'ādat Yār, my son's or Khizr Khwāja Khān's—but feels satisfaction that the Mirzā's life was sacrificed in the king's cause. She lived

¹ *Ibid.*, 29b, 35b, 65a, 68a, 70b.

till 1603 and died full of years and dearly loved by Ḥamīda Bānū and other inmates of the royal palace. Her charities were large and her daily duty had been to succour the poor and the afflicted. Beveridge quotes one of her couplets from the *Tazkirat-ul-Khawātīn*¹ which runs thus :

هر پری دوی که او به عاشق خود یار نیست
تو یقین میدان که هیچ از عمر برخوردار نی

“The fairy-faced one that is not in love with her lover,
Thou mayst be certain, is not happy in life.”

Another unique personage of the age was the amazonian Ḥaram Bēgam. The daughter of the premier nobleman of Badakhshān, Sulṭān Wais Kūlābī, she had been married to Sulaimān M., Humāyūn's cousin. ‘She stands up in history bold, capable, haughty and altogether strongly outlined’ and wholly controlled her husband² and her son and earned the title of *walī ni'mat* by her respectability and administrative ability.³ More than one instance has been given of her virile character. (1) Once in a moment of sore need when Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm were in attendance on the king, the latter sent a requisition for adequate troops properly supplied with arms and riding horses. She complied with the requisition to the letter, personally supervised the recruitment of the soldiers and the supply of their accoutrement, collected several thousand of them

¹ We have not been able to trace the couplet in the printed copy of R. A. S. B.

² *T. Kh. T.* says about her.

حرم بیگم که در مرزا سلیمان تسلط و صاحب اختیار ملک و مال بود

³ *Bad.*

and to prevent their desertion to their homes, led them to a safe distance from Badakhshān and then allowed them to proceed to the king's camp. (2) After Kāmṛān's death, Sulaimān wished to marry his widow, Muḥtarima Khānam. The haughty Bēgam intervened not only to stop the marriage for the present but in order to prevent its taking place in the future forced his son, Ibrahim, to marry the widow. (3) Once Kāmṛān in his foolishness had made an immoral suggestion to the Bēgam. On receipt of the proposal she detained the messenger, one Tarkhān Bēga, sent for her husband and her son, showed them the vile contents of the letter, accused them of cowardice for allowing such a message to reach her, compelled Sulaimān M., to write a letter of rebuke to Kāmṛān and then ended with tearing the Bēga limb by limb. (4) In Akbar's reign she at first helped Muḥammad Ḥakīm to destroy Mīr Shāh Abul Ma'ālī, the murderer of Māh-chuchak Bēgam, Muḥammad Ḥakīm's mother, but later on formed the design of occupying the Kabul province herself and she might have accomplished her object but for the intervention of the neighbouring and mighty ruler, Akbar. So long as she lived, Badakhshān was safe in her husband's hand; when she died, it was lost to Shāh Rukh, Ibrāhīm Mirzā's son by the same Muḥtarima Khānam, whom Sulaimān M. at one time wished to espouse.

Next we take up the four ladies, Bibī Mubārīka, Māh-chuchak Bēgam, Sultān Khānam and M'asūma Sultān Bēgam together. The first was the respected Afghān wife of Bābur. Her marriage in 1519 was as much a love marriage as a political one. Mrs. Beveridge thinks that Bābur addressed Ḥāfiẓ's couplet:

Bibī Mubārīka; Māh-chuchak Bēgam; Sultān Khānam; M'asūma Sultān Bēgam.

Say sweetly, O Breezel! To that beautiful fawn,
 Thou hast given my head to the hills and the wild;
 to woo her.

Politically she was anxious to conciliate the powerful Yūsufzāi tribe and their chief, Malik Shāh Maṣṣūr. Though widely differing in culture, one being an Afghān and the other a Turk, they were devoted to each other. She bore no child and according to *Tārīkh-i-Rahmat Khānī* this was due to the jealous co-wives administering drugs to deprive her of motherhood and thus to weaken her husband's affection. So she remained childless but this did not lower her in Bābur's estimation.

Māh-chuchak Bēgam was the daughter of Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn of Sind. She was the only child of her father and heir to his state and hence a covetable girl for the suitors, among whom might be mentioned the three Mirzās, Yādgār Nāṣir, Hindāl and Kāmran. Shāh Ḥusain weighed each of them both politically and economically and as he found Kāmran rich and the ruler of a large domain, he picked him out of the lot. After her marriage in 1546, she remained in Kabul for seven years. When Kāmran was blinded and exiled she accompanied him against the wishes of her father. Kāmran and Māh-chuchak Bēgam remained in Arabia both dying within six months of each other.

Sultān Khānam, 'Askari's wife, unlike her husband had taken keen interest in her nephew, prince Akbar, and made the infant forget the absence of his mother. Later on, when Humāyūn besieged Qandahār and it was felt hazardous for the child to continue to stay in the fort, he was sent to Kabul to live under the protection of his grand-aunt, Khānzāda Bēgam. Sultān Khānam like the two others mentioned above took little interest in her

husband's politics or family squabbles.

M'asūma Sultān Bēgam was the eldest daughter of Bābur, by his queen of the same name. Bābur had married the elder M'asūma, his eldest uncle's daughter and hence his own cousin, when he was only a youth of seventeen.¹ If Bābur's description is correct, M'asūma had liked him, though a landless wanderer and then Bābur learning of the fact asked her of Ḥabība Sultān Bēgam, her mother. Her death happened in child-birth fifteen years later, when the mother's name was at once given to the new-born babe. When she was only eight or nine she was married to Muḥammad Zamān M., Sultān Ḥusain Bāiqarā's grandson.² After accession Humāyūn often used to honour her with a visit³ and her tent was placed even above that of Dildār Bēgam. Gulbadan Bēgam, her younger step-sister, fondly addresses her as Māh Jīja. Her husband, Muḥammad Zamān, was a turbulent nobleman and had rebelled more than once against Humāyūn. M'asūma had no interest in those rebellions and her relations with her brother were cordial throughout his reign.

Salīma Sultān Bēgam was the daughter of Nūruddīn Muḥammad Chaghatāi and Gulrang Salīma Sultān Bēgam. Bēgam, Hindal's full-sister. As a reward for Bairam Khān's services in the restoration of the Mughal empire, Humāyūn gave Salīma, then a child of five,⁴ in marriage to him. This was the first marriage between a Tīmūrid Sunnī woman and a Shī'a nobleman and though it actually united two ancient

¹ B. N., 120.

² Ḥusain's eldest son, Badī'uzzamān's son.

³ G. H. N., 111, and 139.

⁴ Mrs. Beveridge does not accept the age as given by Jahāngīr.

princely families,¹ one of Tūrān and the other of Īrān, it was intensely unpopular among the Sunnī nobles of the court. After the Khān-Khānān's death, Akbar himself married her. Salīma had acquired a taste for books and poetry, freely made use of Akbar's library² and bore, like so many other ladies, the pen-name of Makhfī. She acted as the superintendent of the palace-school at Fathpūr Sikrī and in order to be able to do her work more efficiently, she had her apartment close to the school with a screened passage leading to it. One is curious to know whether she ever came into contact with Abul Faẓl, one of the teachers of the school and if so, how far she profited from it.

Māham *Anaga* though not related by blood to the reigning Mughal family, played a useful part in protecting Akbar in his childhood from injury.³ Later, she became the moving spirit in the plot that led to Bairam Khān's dismissal⁴ and still later built the famous *madrasa*, *Khairul-Manāẓil*.⁵ It bears an inscription in which are recorded the names of Akbar, Māham *Anaga* and Shahābuddīn. The couplet referring to the *Anaga* is

چو ماهم بیگم عصمت پناهی بنا کرد این بنا بهر افاضل
 "Since Māham Bēgam, the asylum of chastity,
 Laid the foundation of this building for the sake of
 the learned."

¹ For Bairam Khān's ancestors see *M. R.*

² *Bad. Vol. II*, 389 makes a reference to her love of books.

³ The popular belief was that she had shielded Akbar by the interposition of her own person on the rampart when cannon balls were dropping all around.

⁴ See Dr. R. P. Tripathi's article on *Māham Anaga and Akbar* in the *Journal of Indian History*, November 1921.

⁵ *Khairul-manāẓil* furnishes a chronogram and gives 969 corresponding to 1561-2 A.D. For the inscription see *S. S. A. S.*,

We shall close the chapter with an Irānī and two Hindu princesses. Shāhzāda¹ Sultānam, Shāh Ṭahmāsp's sister, had great influence on the Shāh and when the latter was undecided whether to accede to Humāyūn's request for aid and when the other Irānī princes were also opposed to any such aid being rendered,² the princess brought her brother round. She quoted Humāyūn's quatrain in which he had praised 'Alī³ and represented that the aid to Humāyūn would redound to the Shāh's credit and possibly help in spreading Shī'ism. The expectations were not entirely chimerical. Shāh Ṭahmāsp's fame partly rests on his magnanimous gesture to the fugitive king and though Shī'ism did not spread as rapidly as the Irānīs had desired the Irānian culture penetrated into the Mughal palace and the court as it had never done before. The close political alliance between Irān and India continued till the middle of Shāh Jahān's reign and both the countries derived social and economic benefits from it.

The first Hindu princess is the ascetic Mīrā Bāi.

Mīrā Bāi. She was a Mewār princess but overborne by the revival of the Krishna

cult had separated from her husband, abandoned her princely home for Mathura and Brindavan, and turned into a devotee of Lord Krishna. In her ardent love for her divine Lord, she became a wandering minstrel roaming from Hindustān to Rājputāna and from there to Kāthiāwād, singing her songs in praise of the all-

appendix 59.

¹ According to the mediaeval custom she is given the male title of Shāhzāda instead of Shāhzādī. See *G. H. N.*

² For Bahrām Mirzā's hostility see *Jauhar* and *B. B. T. H. B.*

³ See *Supra* Ch. IX.

loving Krishna. To a Hindu Mīrā Bāi is the supreme expression of self-effacement in quest for the Eternal and the Absolute. Her life has been described in greater detail elsewhere.¹ Here we shall be content with the English translation of two of her songs.

(1) "Without my lord, sleep comes not to me,
I find no sleep; thy separation oppresses me; thy
love consumes me.

Without the beloved this bright temple (of heart)
remains dark and no other lamp-fire suits it.

Without the beloved, my bed is empty and I pass the
night awake.

My love, when wilt thou come?

The frog, peacock, and the sparrow-hawk cry and
the cuckoo makes me listen to her songs.

The clouds have gathered in dense clusters, the light-
ning flashes in quick succession;

The rain is ceaselessly falling.

What should I do, where should I go, my friend!
who will quench my anguish?

Like the serpent thy separation is stinging me and
its venom seems to spread through the body
in successive waves;

Who will bring the soothing balm to me?

Where is the confidant, companion or friend who
will make me meet my beloved?

O Mīrā's lord, when wilt thou meet her? she likes
only thy soul-enthralling beauty.

And when wilt thou talk to her gleefully?"

(2) "O Beloved! Let my life be spent in thy adora-
tion,

¹ See Ch. XX.

And let me worship Thy name, morn and eve,
 May I make a *divla*¹ of my body and wick of my mind
 and burn the oil of love day and night,
 May Intelligence and Reason adorn me as do the
 locks of a woman's hair.
 O Beloved! On Thy account have I sacrificed wealth
 and youth,
 And have adorned this multicoloured bed with
 countless flowers;
 But my night passes in counting the stars; for my
 Lord hath not yet turned up.
 The months of *Srāvan* and *Bhadra*, (i.e., the rainy
 season) have come,
 And dense clouds ceaselessly shed tears,
 I have forsaken my mother and father for thy sake
 and thou too hath forgotten me;
 Except thee no other husband can my soul think of,
 You are all in all, my sole *Swāmī*, pray grant me full
 bliss
 Mīrā is forlorn and bewailing; pray make her Thine
 own."

The second Hindu princess was Karmavatī of Mewār.

Karmavatī. She was Rānā Sāngā's queen and
 bore him a son named Bikramājīt

(Vikramāditya) who succeeded to the chieftainship in 1531.² She was a notable political figure and supported her son's cause during his princehood and also later when he became ruler. The *Bābur-nama*³ relates of a meeting that Bābur had with the prince and his mother. As the prince was at loggerheads with his elder brother, Mahā-

¹ A small earthen-cup to hold oil and wick.

² U. R. I. Vol. I, 394.

³ See pp. 612-3. Bābur calls the princess Padmāvatī.

rānā Ratan Singh, he and his mother negotiated for his surrender of Ranthambhōr in exchange for Biāna which he was to hold as a Mughal nobleman. Bābur was prepared to treat the prince generously by a grant of the fertile district of Shamsābād,¹ but not the strategic Biāna. The Rājput̃s, on their part were not willing to move to such a distance from their homes and so the negotiations broke off.

When Bikramājīt succeeded his brother as chieftain in 1531, he neglected the administration, and much of the political work fell on his mother. The Rājput̃ nobility was dissatisfied with their chief² and Sulṭān Bahādur threatened an invasion. Karmavatī rallied the Rājput̃s by appealing to their sense of patriotism and also wrote to Humāyūn, dubbed him a *rākhī-bandh bhāī*, sent him a bracelet and made an appeal for succour.³ When she saw that the appeal bore no fruit and Humāyūn did not or could not come to her aid against a fellow-Muslim king, she negotiated directly with Bahādur and bought peace for the time being by surrendering some territories and making an offer of precious gifts.⁴ Her work ended there. A mediaeval Rājput̃ state was feudal in character and the chief and the heads of the different aristocratic families formed the ruling body. It was the privilege and duty of the chief to inspire and lead his *sardārs* and other followers. If he neglected his duties, no *rānī*, however well-meaning her efforts might be, could help him. So despairing of her son, she withdrew from her public life with the result that two years later (1535) Chitōr was sack-

¹ Situated ten miles n.-w. of Farrukhābād.

² *H. B. Vol. I*, 84.

³ *Tod. Vol. I*, 250

⁴ *H. B. Vol. I*, 87.

ed. Shortly after, when the Mughals fought the battle of Mandesōr and Bahādur Shāh was defeated, Chitōr was regained by the Sisōdiās but Rānī Karmavatī continued to keep away. Deprived of her protection, Bikramājīt was killed in 1539 by his cousin, Banabīr Singh.

CHAPTER XIX

THE INNOVATIONS, REGULATIONS AND MONUMENTS OF HUMĀYŪN—HIS CHARACTER

Humāyūn was no administrator. His father, who too could not boast of being one, had the excuse of not securing during the greater part of his reign the two essentials of successful administration, viz., a long tranquil period and a large kingdom, capable of organization and development. Unfortunately Bābur's life from the age of eleven was spent in wars and adventures and though he had ruled Kabul for twenty-two years before the occupation of Delhi, he was occupied in wars and campaigns till the end of his reign, e.g., he had to fight against the Rāj

ūts and the Afghāns and when he had partially subdued them, he thought of proceeding towards Badakhshān but before he could do this, he died, so that he had no time to look to administration. He had another difficulty. Being a man of large heart, he could not be deaf to the clamours of his numerous relations and so whenever possible, distributed wealth and *jāgīrs* lavishly. This generous instinct so dominated him that it drained away the resources of the country. As an illustration may be mentioned his gifts after the battle of Pānīpat when he made large gifts not only to his son, Humāyūn, the nobles, the soldiers, the traders, and the students that had accompanied him to the battlefield, but also to those who had not done so. Among the latter were included

not only his three younger sons, but also the other Mirzās and relations, the nobles and the soldiers of Turkistān, Khurāsān, Kashghar and Irāq, holy men of Samarqand, Khurāsān, Macca and Madina and lastly every person of Kabul and Varsak, whether 'free bond and free, of age and nonage.'

Humāyūn adored his father and imitated him in many respects, e.g., in scattering gold lavishly. Both Bābur and Humāyūn seem to have the idea that India was the land of inexhaustible wealth¹ which would be at all times at their disposal. So they more or less neglected the financial aspect of their administration. It may be noted that Bābur had only a rough idea of the total income of his kingdom² and that he maintained just a few officials in the finance department. The *Bābur-nāma* especially mentions two, the Diwan and a number of Shiqdars or revenue collectors for a district. There does not appear to be a regular and organized central exchequer, such a prominent feature under the later Mughals.

Humāyūn had allowed Bābur's financial system to continue, only he added two other officials, the Faujdār and the Amīn. He is also credited with the introduction of a crude form of *manṣabdārī* system.³ At the end of his first Afghān campaign in 1533 when he had returned to Agra he turned to the administration of the country and introduced several innovations and regulations. Afterwards, when Humāyūn once more turned against Shēr Shāh and Bahādur Shāh and lived mostly far away from his two capitals, Agra and Delhi, these regulations, introduced under his personal direction, did not appear useful to

¹ For Bābur see *B. N.*, 519.

² *ibid.*, 521.

³ See *V. S. A.*

his officials and so most of them ceased to function. As they were mostly the products of his scholarly fancy, neither Shēr Shāh nor Islām Shāh nor their successors cared to revive them. When Humāyūn recovered Delhi he lived for too short a period to restore his old regulations.

He divided the nobility and the officials into three classes (1) the *Abl-i-daulat* (2) the *Abl-i-sa'ādat* (3) the *Abl-i-murād*. The *Abl-i-daulat* comprised those who by their wisdom or by their valour and skill administered the kingdom or extended its boundaries. It contained the king's relations, the wazīrs, and other officials, the nobles and the soldiers; the *Abl-i-sa'ādat*, those who emphasized the prosperity of the kingdom by their learning and ideals and included the respectable Sayyids, the great Shaikhs and the divines, the qāzīs and the muftīs, the philosophers and the poets, the teachers and other learned men; the *Abl-i-murād*, those who satisfied the aesthetic cravings of the human heart. They consisted of singers and musicians and all those beauteous women and youths who added to the sensuous satisfaction of the audience. Next, he appointed one individual in charge of each class and in order to signify the charge made him a gift of a gold arrow, e.g., Amīr Hindū Bēg of the *Abl-i-daulat*, Mullā Mīr Muḥammad Pargharī¹ of the *Abl-i-sa'ādat* and Amīr Wais Muḥammad of the *Abl-i-murād*.² Several points strike us in this connection:

(1) The individual in charge might not belong to that class. Wais Muḥammad was neither a singer nor a

¹ For other details of the Mullā see *H. B. Vol. I.*

² For other details See *Kb.*, 27 n. and *G. H. P. L.*, 41.

beauteous youth. He was an elderly poet of some pretensions. But he discharged his work conscientiously and is generally known like the earlier Mīr ‘Alī Shēr Nawāi of Sulṭān Ḥusain’s court or the later ‘Abdur Raḥīm Khān-Khānān as the Maecenas of his time.

(2) Humāyūn did not consider that it was a sufficient honour to present one of the three gold arrows to Hindū Bēg and thus make him one of the premier noblemen. Three years later he bestowed on him the title of *Amīr-ul-umarā* and a golden chair to sit upon. Since he was made governor of Jaunpūr at the same time, it seems his duties of looking after the *Abl-i-daulat* had either ended or been performed by a deputy or the classification, found too fanciful, had ceased to function.

(3) The individual in charge did not always appear to be the most prominent personage of his class, e.g., Mullā Mīr Muḥammad Pargharī. Shaikh Buhlūl and Mīr Abul Baqā were more renowned in their branches of knowledge¹ and commanded greater attention from the king. Muḥammad Pargharī might however have proved more useful, for he had acted as Humāyūn’s agent in his negotiations with Bahādur Shāh of Gujrāt.

(4) The judges though classified under learned men and hence under the *Abl-i-sa‘ādat* were state officials and so were paid their salaries by Hindū Bēg. Thus after their appointments they were transferred to the first group.

(5) The third classification did not include the more noted poets. The women belonged to this class and included the nautch girls, who were more or less despised in respectable society.

¹ Shaikh Buhlūl as a philosopher and Mīr Abul Baqā as a *hakīm*.

(6) The royal women were not mentioned under any class. Evidently they had been entirely left out.

(7) Khwāndamīr seems to imply in his work that the three individuals named were to remain in their offices so long as they discharged their duties. Since the whole scheme worked only for two or three years at the most, no change in the personnel has been recorded.

(8) The individuals included in the three lists were expected to make offerings of gold and silver to their royal patron. The king, who might have kept them to himself, usually distributed them among the needy.¹

Humāyūn next fixed the days of the week for interviews and meetings with each class; for the *Abl-i-daulat* Sunday and Tuesday, for the *Abl-i-Sa'adat* Saturday and Thursday, and for the *Abl-i-murād* Monday and Wednesday. Friday, the Muslim sabbath-day, was kept aside for the congregational prayers and social calls on the womenfolk of the palace. We are not concerned with Khwāndamīr's reasons for the selection of the days. We only wish to notice the evils of the classification:

(1) The *Abl-i-murād* were given an unholy prominence. Music and song had their baneful influence on the Mughal court and Humāyūn may be blamed for being one of the earliest to give an official recognition to them.

(2) The classification was wholly arbitrary. A person like Bairam Khān could belong to more than one class and possibly to all the three.

(3) The allocation of two days in the week to each class must have proved injurious to the kingdom. The

¹ In later times the Mughal officials had to make costly offerings and the king counted them among the regular sources of income. It is still done in some of the native states.

arrangement allowed Humāyūn to devote three clear days to meet the womenfolk of the palace and the other women. Only on two days, Sunday and Tuesday, did he seriously undertake to perform the routine work of the administration. Instead of following the practice of Shēr Shāh or of the later Mughals, of meeting his subjects in the *darbār-i-ām-o-khās* and transacting state business in the *Dīwān-i-khās* several times every day and even looking after the affairs of the palace in consultation with the Bādshāh Bēgam in the evening, Humāyūn devoted just two days for the principal duties of a ruler.

Khwāndamīr also records another system of classification of the official hierarchy including the king himself. It was divided into twelve classes each class being indicated by an arrow. The twelfth arrow, made of the purest gold, was reserved for the quiver of the king and no one else was to share it with him; the eleventh for his brothers and other relations and those nobles who bore the title of Sultān; the tenth for the Shaikhs, the Sayyids and other learned and pious men, the ninth for the great nobles; the eighth for the intimate courtiers and the principal officials of the state; the seventh for other officers; the sixth for the heads of the Afghān clans and the Uzbeks; the fifth for the military officers; the fourth for the treasurers; the third for the soldiers; the second for the menial servants; and the first for the watchmen and the camel drivers. Each class had the possession of three arrows, one being granted to the highest member, another to the middle and the third to the lowest. Here we may notice that

(1) though some women were officials in the palace, they are ignored in the classification.

(2) the grouping into classes and grades does not appear to be based on any sound or logical basis and it was merely the pleasure of the king that decided the class or the grade of each officer.

(3) the king in his love for the learned had assigned them a place next to himself, his relations and the Sulṭāns. The other nobles were placed lower in the list.

(4) The Afghān Malik and the Uzbek Khāns had also ranks assigned to them, but sufficiently lower in the list.

(5) Humāyūn prized the treasurers less than some of his military officers. He lacked the capacity to appreciate properly his finance officers.

(6) The lowest rank was assigned among others to the watchman, an indispensable link in the local government of a province.

(7) the later *maṇṣabdārī* system of 66 or 33 grades with its further subdivision of each grade into three might have grown out of these twelve classes.

(8) It is possible that the word 'arrow' really indicated a division or group without any arrow actually being assigned. But if it was done it seemed an entirely redundant feature.¹

A third reform that Khwāndamīr writes about is the division of the affairs of the state into four departments named the fire, the air, the water, and the earth departments and the appointment of a minister for the supervision of each. The fire department in charge of the wazir, Amīd-

¹ R. T. refers to Humāyūn's assigning seats to the rulers of Turkey, Īrān and Central Asia near his throne, the relative proximity indicating the importance of each and *Bad.* writes of his putting a veil over his crown and of his shouting on its removal, 'Light has shone forth' See R. P. Tripathi's *Some Aspects of Muslim administration* (T. A. M. A.).

ul-mulk, dealt with the artillery, the armoury, the weapons of war and those articles that had anything to do with fire. The air department under Lutfullāh took charge of the king's wardrobe, the kitchen, the stable and the care of the mules and the camels. The water department under Khwāja Ḥasan looked after the syrup and the wine manufacture for the king's use, the digging of the canals and all works connected with the river. The earth department under Khwāja Jalāluddīn Mīrzā Bēg looked after agriculture, the public works, the *khālsa* land and the royal palaces. Here again a few remarks are called for:

(1) All the wazirs originally appointed or their successors were obscure personages. Only when all the departments were placed under Amīr Wais Muḥammad that we come across a fairly well-known figure.

(2) The departments though they included among themselves the entire material kingdom, did not occupy the whole attention of Wais Muḥammad; besides these departments he had to look after the *Ahl-i-murād*. It is an irony of fate that the man in charge of the singers and the musicians was also placed at the head of the artillery, agriculture and the public works and worked the state canals.

(3) The distribution of the sections under each of the departments was wholly artificial and very often had nothing in common with each other, e.g., the kitchen and the mule section or the syrup manufacture and the digging of the canals or the management of the *khālsa* land and the public works. Even supposing that like a member of the Supreme Council or a minister of a province with several portfolios, these wazirs

held charge of entirely unconnected departments it will be still admitted that the final arrangement of placing all the four departments under Mīr Wais Muḥammad was unsatisfactory.

Another innovation introduced by Humāyūn was that

*The colours of the
king's dress.*

he dressed in different coloured robes

on the different days of the week,

i.e., on Sunday 'in a colour as was

appropriate to the sun, i.e., yellow; on Saturday in black;

on Monday in white if it was nearly full moon, otherwise

in green; on Tuesday in red, as Mars was termed the bloody

planet; on Wednesday, in imitation of the wanton Mercury

in diverse colours, viz., ash-blue or some other colour;

on Thursday in gram-colour or the 'natural colour'; on

Friday, dedicated to Venus, in green or white.' The whole

scheme appears fantastic. Humāyūn might take pride in

his knowledge of astrology and might consider Saturn to

be of a black disposition, Friday to be dedicated to Venus

or Mars to be bloody, but he did not prove his ruling

capacities thereby. The innovation lasted for some years

but in its later phase it indicated the particular mood of the

wearer. The contemporary writers mention that Humāyūn

once wore a red robe for three days to express his wrath

and all this time the city of Māndū underwent pillage

and massacre and it was only on the fourth day that he

relented and changed his dress into green as a concession

to Ustād Manjhu, the musician.¹ One would like to know

the origin of the modern practice of the judges of the

supreme courts of putting on a red robe when sentencing

a criminal to death.

He had also introduced the drum of justice. A

¹ See *H. B. Vol. I*, 134.

large drum was placed near the audience hall. The complainants were to strike it, the number of strokes indicating the gravity of their wrongs, e.g., one beat would indicate a petty dispute; two the non-payment of the wages or salary; three a contention about property or its total loss; four the shedding of blood.

The beating of the drum had a ceremonial significance also. Thus it was beaten at the sunrise, when it was called *naubat-i-daulat*; at the time of prayers, when it was termed *naubat-i-sa'ādat* and at the sunset for the announcement of merry gatherings when it was known as *naubat-i-murād*. It was beaten also on the first and the fourteenth of each month in honour of the sun and the moon.

Another innovation was the introduction of a carpet called the carpet of mirth. It was round in shape, made of valuable stuff and divided into circles of different colours, white, blue, black-brown, red-gold, bright-green, violet and white. There were other circles also indicating fire, air, water and earth. The last was again subdivided into seven climes. The seats were allotted to each nobleman in one of the circles, e.g., the Indian officers and the Shaikhs in the black and the Sayyids in the light brown. The people seated threw dice marked with human figures in different postures and themselves assumed those revealed by the dice.

Khawāndamīr tells us of the introduction of the cap of honour. It was made of silk, woollen or brocade cloth. The king's crown consisted of one colour but the others wore caps of more than one colour. The chronogram of Amīr Shahābuddīn Aḥmad Mu'ammāi, who bore the title *Amīr-ul-ẓurafā*, the *tāj-i-sa'ādat*, gives the

date of the innovation.¹

Humāyūn also introduced the barges of two-storied

The royal barges. square apartments of several patterns.

He had four of them made after one pattern, so that when placed together they formed an octagonal courtyard or reservoir in the middle. There were boats of other shapes also. Some of them were so large and capacious that together they formed a movable bazaar or market with shops arranged in three rows, two on the two sides of each boat and the third in its central 'hall.' Khwāndamīr mentions an occasion when the market supplied food, drink, dress, cloth, ammunition, weapons of war for the assembly besides showing small orchards and vegetable or flower gardens.²

Similarly he invented and made use of a movable

A movable bridge. bridge of several boats tied together with iron hooks and chains. It consisted of several parts and was carried in pieces which,

when needed, were again joined to form a bridge. This bridge was so strong that a whole army with its beasts of burden could cross a river with ease, so that the bridge facilitated the movements of the king and his army and added to the efficiency of the Mughal administration.

The king had also got a movable palace of three storeys made for him. It could be broken to pieces, moved to another place and fitted up again. Even the stairs leading to the upper storeys were provided by a folding ladder. The building ended in a golden dome and was decorated in colours. He had also several kinds of tents one of which with no lattices or balconies was so large that

¹ 939 A. H.

² These were probably made with the help of earthen-pots.

it encircled the other tents and another contained twelve patterns corresponding to the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

From the above descriptions, it would be clear that instead of engaging in the prosaic but useful duties of administration, Humāyūn frittered away his time and energy in childish innovations. Except for the movable bridge and the tents, the innovations served no useful purpose whatever. Even the drum of justice did not have much significance; for, it must have needed some boldness on the part of the complainant to beat a royal drum; moreover it would have been termed a nuisance if every complaint was to be announced by loud beatings of a drum. Much more sensible was Shēr Shāh's method of personally receiving petitions of complaints in the *darbār*, and of attending to them at his leisure.

Turning to his regulations we find sketchy or stray references to the following:—

(1) He forbade the celebration of the *Naurōz* day, when the sun entered the Aries. It was originally a Parsee New year's festival and was observed by the old Magi kings before the advent of the Muslims in Irān. Since the Muslim theologians objected to the festivities, he stopped them altogether.¹ We are not told whether Bābur used to hold such festivities²; we only know of the oft-quoted couplet composed by him:

نوروز و نو بهار و دلبران خوشست بابر بعیش کوش که عالم دوباره نیست

“It is the New year's day and a new spring and the heart-ravishing damsels (are around us),

¹ *Kh.*, 95.

² Though there is a vague reference in *B. N.*, 236.

Bābur, seek to enjoy (the present); for, the world
will not recur to you."

In Akbar's time the *Naurōz* again became an important festival when merriments were held for three weeks and titles were bestowed on the favoured nobility.¹

(2) On return from his exile, he had enjoined his nobles to enter into matrimonial alliance with the landholders of the country. This was in accordance with Shāh Ṭahmāsp's advice to rely chiefly on the support of the people of the land. In accordance with this advice, Bairam Khān married Jamāl Khān Mewātī's daughter.² Jamāl Khān was the nephew to Hasan Khān, who with his headquarters in Mewat had died fighting on the battle-field of Khānwa.

(3) Humāyūn introduced the Mughal salutations known as the *kōrnīsh* and the *taslīm*.
The kōrnīsh, the taslīm. In the former, the palm of the right hand was placed in the forehead and the head was bent downwards. The *taslīm* consisted in placing the back of the hand on the earth and then raising it gently until the person stood erect when he put the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head. The *Āin*³ has given us their origin. Akbar had a present of one of the king's caps which proved too large for him. While, in gratitude for the gift, he saluted the king with the cap on, he held it with the right hand and bent forward. The king liked the salutation, termed it the *kōrnīsh* and

¹ See *A. A. Vol. I*, 276.

² See *M. R. Vol. II*, 2 and *A. A. Vol. I*, 335. *Alwar and its treasures* by T. Holbein Hendley published by the Alwar State mentions that Humāyūn married Jamāl Khān's daughter and Bairam Khān that of Hasan Khān.

³ *A. A. Vol. I*, 158.

enjoined it on his *darbārīs*. The *taslīm* was only a modification of it.

(4) He made some improvements in the land revenue department. First of all he added *The revenue reforms.* just a little to Sultān Sikandar Lōdī's linear measure. Whereas a Sikandarī *gaṣ* measured 41 *Iskandarī* and a half in breadth, an *Iskandarī* being a billon coin of copper and silver, Humāyūn made it full 42 *Iskandarī* so that it measured exactly 32 digits. Akbar standardized his Ilāhī *gaṣ* at 41 digits.¹ Secondly, Humāyūn charged 2 Bāburīs and 4 tankas for each *Kharwār* of corn. For a comparison we may mention that Akbar took four Bāburīs on the same load. A Bāburī was a silver coin, two and a half of which made one of Akbar's rupees; a tanka equalled two copper coins and a *Kharwār* would be slightly more than eight maunds.² The revenue charged being less than a rupee for eight maunds of grain was considerably less than Akbar's.

(5) Humāyūn had intended to decentralize the administration by having several provincial seats of government and had *The divisions of the kingdom.* chosen Delhi, Agra, Jaunpūr, Māndū, Lahore, and Qanauj and several other towns for the purpose.³ He had also intended to keep with each governor a standing army of 12,000 soldiers. Another of his intentions was to allow gold and silver seats to be used in the *darbār* by the princes and other especially favoured dignitaries and had actually conferred one on Hindū Bēg.

¹ An Ilāhī *gaṣ*. measured 33 inches. See *V. S. A.*, 373.

² See *A. A.*, 334 and *B. N.*, 228 n. 2.

³ In Akbar's time most of them served as headquarters for his *sūbas*.

(6) After his return from Irān, he had tried to bring the Irānīs and the Tūrānīs together and with this object had engaged people of both the countries in his service and encouraged them to settle in the country. We find that Shaikh Mubārak counted pupils from among the members of both the Sunnī and the Shī'a communities.

Let us now turn to some of his monuments. We have already described the foundation of his capital in *Dīn-panāb*. Here the noble object which led to its foundation need only be emphasized. There was great intolerance in other Muslim countries and the Shī'a and the Sunnī minorities were suffering heavily. So, many followers of either sect fled to seek shelter in Delhi. In order to encourage immigration from the other countries, Humāyūn announced his principles of toleration and universal peace and associated the Shaikhs, the Sayyids, and the elders of the capital with his ideals. His principles were later on approved by his successor, Shēr Shāh; for the latter instead of choosing an entirely new site for his residence, continued to stay in Humāyūn's town, only he changed its name to Shērgarh and added to the number of its buildings, e.g., built the mosque known today as the *Masjid-i-qal'a-i-kobna* and also *Shēr mandal*. Shēr Shāh adopted much of the Mughal style of architecture and today it is well nigh impossible to fully distinguish Humāyūn's contribution from Shēr Shāh's. Neither of them completed the enclosing walls of the citadel, the task being left to Islām Shāh. The northern gate known as the Talāqī gate has a faint inscription in Persian, a portion of which reads as

این همایون خانه را یارب نگهدار از خلل

“O God, Preserve this blessed house from decay.”¹

Another gate, known as *Bara Darwāza* from its large size, was also built about the same time (940 A.H.). The southern gate known as *Humāyūn Darwāza* was built ten years later by *Ghāzī Khān Nūhānī* in *Shēr Shāh*’s reign and has no reference to the Mughal king.²

There are two other monuments in Delhi connected with the king. One is known as the *Nīlī Chhatrī* or the blue kiosk, from the blue tiles of the dome. Situated on the Jamna below the Salimgarh fort, it was built in 1532.³ The site is claimed by the Hindus to be the place where Yudhisthira, the eldest of the Pāndava brothers, had performed a *yagna*. Many of the tiles of the kiosk bear traces of Hindu images and probably they were obtained from some abandoned temple. It is worth while to notice that *Dīn-panāh* and *Nīlī Chhatrī* were built on the sacred sites of the Hindus. As he did not have the proselytizing zeal of a preacher, he had selected the sites not out of a desire to flout the Hindu sentiment but because of his regard for it.⁴ The kiosk has an inscription which mentions its foundation by Humāyūn and its occasional use by Jahāngīr.

Amīr Khusrau’s tomb in Nizāmuddīn village also has an inscription put up by Humāyūn. The *Amīr* was a court poet and distinguished nobleman in the later Slave and *Khaljī* periods and was dearly loved by Shaikh

¹ There is a pun on the word “Humāyūn”.

² *A. S. I.* No. 47.

³ See *S. S. A. S.*, 48. It quotes the authority of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*.

⁴ See *H. B. Vol. I.*, 114.

⁵ He died in 1325 A.D.

Nizāmuddīn *Aulia*. When the *Aulia* died *Khusrau* was in the distant *Lakhnautī*. He hurried to *Delhi* and was so affected by his master's death that he followed him to the grave within six months.¹ The *Aulia's* instructions had been to lay the *Amīr* by his side but after his death, objections were raised and so he was buried on the south of the *Aulia's* tomb beyond the courtyard. Up to *Bābur's* time the poet's tomb lay bare. *Maḥdī Khwāja* raised the first structure—the outer enclosing wall.² *Humāyūn* raised the inner enclosure, paved the tomb with marble stone and placed a marble tombstone on the grave. On the north and the west walls of the enclosure occur the following couplets:

شاه ملک سخن خسرو سر و سالار درویشان
 که نامش هست بر لوح جهان چو نقش در خار
 چنان در صورت خوبی سخن پرداز شد طبعش
 که زبانی داد از آن صورت بخوبی معنی را
 بسال پنج پنج و هفتصد از هجرت حضرت
 ز دارالملک دنیا کرد رحمت جانب عقی
 عاقبت بخیر باد
 بتقدیر الهی مرغ روحش سدره ماوا شد
 ندای ارجعی چون در رسید از عالم بالا
 گذشته بود سی و هشت و نهصد سال از هجرت
 بدوران همایون بادشاه غازی دانا
 شهنشاهی که می شاید اگر کرد بیان دایم
 دعای دولتش گویند نزد ربی الاعلی

¹ For the details of the poet's life see M. Waḥīd Mirzā's work on him.

² See *A. S. I. no.* 10, 23.

رفیع القدر صاحب دولتی پاکے کہ در عالم
نبودست و نہاد مثل او بے مثل و بے ہمتا
خدا یا تا جہان باشد بدولت باشد و بادش
حداوند جہان یار و معین و ناصر الاعدا

- (1) Khusrau, the king of the kingdom of words
and head and chief of the saints.
Whose name is (engraved) on the tablet of the
world like the mark on a hard stone.
- (2) He composed verses in such an elegant style
That the tablet of meaning was adorned by it.
- (3) In the year five times five and seven hundred
from the flight of the Prophet.
He departed from this world to the next.
May his end be good.
- (4) By the divine decree Sidra (paradise) became the
residence of the bird of his soul
When the call 'turn to me' reached him from the
upper world.
- (5) Nine hundred and thirty years had passed from
the *Hijrat*
To the reign of Humāyūn, the king and cham-
pion of faith and wise.
- (6) An emperor, so worthy that if the angels might
be constantly uttering
They would only pray for his prosperity to the
great God.
- (7) Of high rank, wealthy and pure, like whom
There has never been nor ever will be one
so peerless or matchless.
- (8) O God! So long as the world lasts may he
live in prosperity

And may the Lord of the world be his friend,
 helper¹ and defender against his enemies.

Comment:

(a) Humāyūn had placed the inscription not in the tomb chamber but on the walls of the inner enclosure. This might have been done out of a sense of humility and reverence for the *Amīr*. He did not like to put up couplets in the Saint's mortuary chamber that contained references to himself.

(b) He extolled the excellence of the *Amīr* not only as a poet but also as a sufi philosopher. In fact he was already ranked as a saint along with his master, the *Aulia*.

(c) Humāyūn sung fulsome hymns in his own praise and claimed that no one so wise as he had been born in the past nor would appear in the future. It is an irony of fate that within eight or nine years of the putting up of the inscription, he was deposed and exiled by one who was far worthier than himself.

In Humāyūn's reign, Agra was the official headquarters and he chose for his residence either Bābur's Chahār Bāgh or the palace situated opposite the Tāj. Both in Chahār Bāgh and near the site of the extinct palace, there are mosques connected with Humāyūn's name. Beglar calls the former *masid* distinguishing it from the complete masjid in that the former had neither the side-walls nor the *tāj* or the outer projection behind the central niche termed *mibrāb* or *qibla*. The latter is dated 937 A.H. and the former had been built, about the same

¹ See *A. S. I.*, no. 10, p. 25.

time by the celebrated author and Bābur's friend, Shaikh Zainuddīn Khwāfī. Khwāndamīr makes a mention of two other buildings which do not exist today, one a building called the Mystic House and another, a palace at Agra and gives a long description of them. The latter was originally the site for the treasury of the ancient Hindu rulers. Dr. Bains Prasad identifies it with the fortress of Bādalgarh, later on rechristened Akbarābād in Akbar's honour.

There are scattered throughout Hindustān monuments associated with Humāyūn's name. (1) A palace built of chiselled stone at Gwalior¹ which at present cannot be traced. (2) A *chaukandī* or open kiosk at Sārnāth situated on a mound named *Lorī-ki-kudān*. The mound is 74 ft. in height and the *chaukandī* adds another 24' to it. It has an inscription mentioning the construction of the *chaukandī* as a commemoration of Humāyūn's ascent to the mound. In the distant past the mound was considerably higher and was a Buddhist *stupa*, but Humāyūn was unaware of its previous history. (3) In the village of Gangoh of Tahsil Nakur, 23 miles south-west of Sahāranpūr, lies the mausoleum of the saint Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs, erected by Humāyūn in 1537, though the saint actually died six years later. Without pretension to architectural beauty of a high order it looks pretty. 'Abdul Quddūs was a noted theologian and sufi philosopher and the king had held many a discussion with him.² (4) In the village Qasba Nigūn of Tahsil Mahal, 25 miles west of Azamgarh, is an old masjid which bears the name of Humāyūn and the date 1533. Possibly it only commemo-

¹ *Kb.*, 82.

² See. *A. A. Vol. III*, 374.

rated the reigning king without signifying him as its builder. (5) In Fathābād is a mosque known as Humāyūn's mosque. It was so named because during his flight to Lahore, he had offered his prayers in the mosque. (6) In Kālinjai, Pātāl Ganga, a reservoir cut in the rock bears several dates, one being 936 A.H. in Persian along with the insertion of Humāyūn's name.¹

The following observations may be made on the king's works:

(1) His piety is evident from his interest in the village of Nizāmuddīn and his love for poetry and sufistic philosophy by his putting up of the inscribed enclosure round *Amīr* Khusrau's tomb.

(2) He chose Hindu sites because of their sanctity. Since those were in ruins, he occupied them and utilized the materials available there. No writer has imputed bigotry to him and Hindu tradition labels him as their friend and so no fanatical motive should be assigned to his choice of the sites.

(3) With all his faults, Humāyūn seems to have captivated the hearts of his subjects. Simply because once he had the occasion to offer his prayers in one of the mosques at Fathābād, it has ever since been associated with his name.

(4) Between Humāyūn and Shēr Shāh, there appears to have been much of toleration of each other. Shēr Shāh had not demolished any of Humāyūn's buildings. In fact it was in the Mughal king's Dīn-panāh that he chose his own headquarters. Similarly on return from exile, Humāyūn chose to stay in Shērgarh citadel, offered prayer in Shēr Shāh's mosque and made use of his library

¹ See. *H. B. Vol. I*, 35.

as his observatory. Their hostility towards each other was confined to politics.

(5) In his couplets put up at *Amīr Khusrau's* tomb, Humāyūn took full advantage of the poetic licence allowed to the composer. He used for himself hyperboles which would put a meaner panegyrist to shame.

We shall now deal with the king's character.

Humāyūn's character. Without repeating the events of his

career, we may note three features in his character, (1) love of learning, (2) piety, (3) other virtues. (1) Humāyūn was a widely-read person, master of Turkī, Arabic, Persian and Hindi, and fond of literature, poetry, philosophy, astrology, astronomy, history, geography, theology and mathematics and unrivalled in the epistolary art.¹ One writer praises² his speeches thus:—

باوجود کثرت مشاغل جهانبنانی شغل بتحصیل علوم سخن دانی نموده تکلم
بدیعی در فصاحت و بلاغت درجه علیا داشته و منطق شیرینش بمضمون
"خیر الکلام مافیل و دل" در الفاظ قصیر معانی کثیر بیان نموده اطناب را که خبر
از ملالت میدهد در انشا نمیکز داشته

"In spite of his various engagements dealing with administration, he found time to acquire the art of eloquence to excellence and his sweet tongue according to the saying, 'the best speech is that which is brief yet convincing' expressed numerous ideas in very few words, and he did not allow unnecessary and irksome dilation to enter his speech."

He was also a patron of learning. Since both Irān and Turkey had adopted the cruel policy of exterminating the rival sect, many of the Sunnīs and the Shī'as

¹ T. Kh. T., *Bad.*, 467, T. A., 84, *Far.*, 634.

² 'Abdul Latīf Khān the Ṣadr of Bukhāra; his work is known as *Tazkira-i-Bukhārāi* (T. B.). See R. A. S. B. *ms.* fol. 28a.

had taken refuge in India.¹ Among those who had obtained shelter in Delhi might be mentioned the following:—

(1) *Those belonging to Irān:*

- (a) Mīr ‘Abdul Latīf Qazvīnī
- (b) Maulānā Ilyās
- (c) Shaikh ‘Abdul Wājīd Fārighī Shīrāzī
- (d) Khwāja Ayyūb
- (e) Ghiyāsuddīn Khwāndamīr
- (f) Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astarābādī²

(2) *Those of other Muslim countries:*

- (a) Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandī
- (b) Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī of Kabul
- (c) Shāh Ṭāhir Dakkhani of Irāq
- (d) Maulānā Janūbī of Badakhshān
- (e) Yusuf bin Muḥammad Haravī
- (f) Maulānā Muḥammad Faḍl bin ‘Alī Samarqandī
- (g) Khwāja Hasan Mervī

Humāyūn was also a lover of painting and more than one artist had gathered in his court, e.g., Khwāja ‘Abdus Ṣamad and Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī both came from Irān attracted by his patronage.³ In Akbar’s reign they founded the Indian school of painting. The Khwāja was entitled *Shīrīn qalam* or ‘sweep pen’ for his artistic excellence. In his wars too Humāyūn was moved to a humane gesture by the learning or artistic skill of his foes. In his Gujrāt campaign he had turned the Gujrātī generals, the learned

¹ See *Kb.* 8.

² See *B. B. T. H. B.* or *Mufākhbir-ul-aḥbāb*, no. 219 of R. A. S. B. catalogue of Persian mss.

³ *A. N.* 552. Both were poets and the Khwāja was in addition a calligraphist.

Khudāwand Khān and IKhtiyār Khān into firm friends¹ and had attempted to win over Ustād Manjhū, the musician.²

As a scholar he deserves high praise. Not only was he a great poet but also good letter-writer, splendid mathematician and noted astronomer. He had desired to establish observatories at the important centres of his dominion; he had himself fixed the auspicious hour of his marriage with Ḥamīda Bānū and held the astrolabe himself to announce the right moment for the ceremony.³ He was a good astrologer also and once actually danced in his delight at the study of Akbar's horoscope.⁴ He had corrected Ḥairatī's poem in Mashad.⁵ He loved Shaikh Buhlūl, Mīr Abul Baqā⁶ and Bairam Khān because of their philosophical and poetical gifts and in his journey through Īrān he had charmed the '*ulamā*' of the different cities by his learning. The author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* states that his father had no rest because the king, a voracious reader, would make demands of books at all times of the day and insisted on his continued presence.

(2) Humāyūn was a pious Muslim. He was strict in his religious observances and, it is said, seldom uttered the name of God in an unclean state of body. More than one writer state that once on meeting a nobleman, Mīr 'Abdul Ḥaiy, the king addressed him only as 'Abdul and refrained from uttering Ḥaiy, one of the names of God,

¹ See *H. B. Vol. I.* 128.

² *ibid.*, 134.

³ See *G. H. N.*, 43*b*.

⁴ *A. N. tr.*, 123.

⁵ *ibid.*, 445-7.

⁶ For their praises see *A. N.*, 365 and *Bad. Vol. I*, 437.

because he had not performed his ceremonious ablutions¹ and for the same reason instead of putting in ه 'He' at the top of his letters, he would only write its numerical value, viz., eleven. While admitting that there was much of the impracticable in him, we may note his humble devotion to God, as evident here and in the quatrain he composed² on the day of his death, when he knew nothing of his approaching end.

Like his father, he longed for the company of the *dar-weshes*³ and had given expression to his sentiment in the line, 'make this heart-broken person acceptable to the *dar-weshes*'.⁴ He loved the company of the *maulavīs* and the saints and generally passed the last portion of the night and sometimes the whole night in their company⁵ and held religious discussions. Usually he was a man of few words, abstained from a foul tongue, kept control over his temper and the only words that he generally uttered when in anger were, 'thou foolish fellow'.⁶

He was a Sunnī and belonged to the Ḥanafī fold but because of his toleration of the other sects and especially of the Shī'as and also because a large number of the Irānīs were in his company, he was twitted with Shī'ism.⁷ Once Shaikh Ḥamid Mufsir Sambhalī broached the subject and

¹ *Bad.* Vol. I, 467, *T. A.* Vol. II, 85, *Far. ms.* Vol. I, 634b.

² See supra Ch. XV.

³ *T. B.*'s words are

باوجود علوجاه سر نیازی بدرویشان داشته خود را بے نیاز از ایشان نمی پنداشته
For Humāyūn's religion, see the author's article in the proceedings of the first session of the Indian History Congress held at Poona in 1935.

⁴ See Ch. XVII. 4, (ii).

⁵ *T. A.*, 85, and *Bad.*, 467.

⁶ *Bad.*

⁷ *T. S. Cl.* and *Far.*

remarked that in the royal camp around, he noticed only names ending with 'Alī. Humāyūn resented the remark and in answer to the question why the names of the Khalīfas were not to be found, rather illogically pointed out that his own grandfather bore the name of 'Umar and then at once withdrew to his palace. After a while when he was more composed, he once more came in and as the Shaikh had come all the way from India to congratulate him on his reconquest of Kabul, explained his religious convictions at some length.

There was a perennial altercation between Kāmran and Humāyūn over their religious convictions, when the former would be reproaching the latter for being a Shī'a.¹ Of course Humāyūn had given some ground for Kāmran's suspicions by putting on the Shī'a *tāj* in Irān and by signing—however unwillingly—a solemn promise to favour the Shī'a religion in India. On his behalf, it may be said that he had found himself in an inconvenient situation and that if he had not agreed he would have failed to obtain aid from the Shāh and might not have escaped with his life. The Shāh possessed the zeal of a proselytizer and would not have hesitated to go any length to secure the conversion of the Mughal chief. It was under the threat of a dire consequence that Humāyūn had given his consent and might or might not have kept his word. Later we see that even the return of Qandahār, a much easier condition was not fulfilled in the next eleven years that he lived. It is possible that he meant to return it after the consolidation of his kingdom of Hindustān but this he did not live

¹ The writers mention how when the brothers saw a dog defiling a tomb, Kāmran jestingly said that the dead person was a Shī'a and Humāyūn retorted that he was a Sunnī.

to see accomplished. In signing his contract with the Shāh he must have appeased his conscience by the arguments that Bābur had acted similarly in an identical situation and had actually read a Shī'a *khutba* from the chief pulpit of Samarqand and moreover like his father, he bore profound veneration for the individual characters of the Shī'a Imāms and sympathy for their long-drawn sufferings.

Humāyūn was deeply interested in sufism and in his poems we meet now and again the passages that breathe of the union of man with God, e.g., when he says, 'if thou passeth by thyself, thou shalt attain divinity,' or 'thou wilt notice no distinction between us and God,' or again 'we men are all branches of the tree of eternal life and He (God) is its¹ root.' Sufism being so similar to the Hindu vedantism, it had furnished him a common platform with his Hindu subjects. Again, his father's secret will directing him to respect the feelings of the Hindus by refraining from cow-slaughter or destruction of their temples² had helped to liberalize his views and to maintain good relations with them and with the Rājput states. After the battle of Chausa it was a Hindu Rājā, Bīrbhān³ that aided him during his retreat and it was in the Rājput state of Amarkōt that Akbar was born. At one time Māldēo was willing to help him, but before he could do so, the political horizon underwent a change and Māldēo had to recall his offer. The Rāthōr chief's war with Shēr Shāh was the direct result of his encouragement to Humāyūn.⁴

¹ See. Ch. XVII A(4) (iii), and B (I) (iii) and (v).

² See the author's article on 'Bābur and the Hindus' in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*. 1936.

³ See *H. B. Vol. I*, 235.

⁴ See *Supra* Ch. VI.

(3) The king possessed many other virtues, the off-shoots of the two above-mentioned *Humāyūn's other virtues.* basic features in his character. He was kind and forgiving to the fallen and in so doing more than once jeopardized the interests of his kingdom and except for grave political reasons, never broke his word. He was also brave and generous to a fault. We have seen instances of the latter in his accession and other festivities and in the conduct of the Gujrāt campaign.¹ The author of the *Tārīkh-i-Bukhārāi* thus expresses this trait in the king.

در سخا چون حاتم طائی یکتا بوده بلکه نام حاتم در تحت سخاوتش مطوی
می نموده

“In liberality Humāyūn was unrivalled like Ḥātim Ṭāi or rather Ḥātim in the domain of generosity was his subordinate.”

A mention may also be made of his patience and forbearance in adversity. When his nobles were insolent or his brothers and cousins treacherous, he suffered in patience. Even when he got Qandahār and Kabul back and found Kāmṛān intractable, he waited long for a return of sanity to him and it was only when his nobles insisted on a condign punishment and threatened otherwise to desert him that he agreed to deprive him of his eyesight but not of his life.

This leads us to consider the defects in Humāyūn. *Humāyūn's defects.* The Mediaeval writers, who were the courtiers of Humāyūn's time or in that of his successors rarely noticed any. But any one can easily realize them for they are mostly due to an

¹ See. *H. B. Vol. I*, 28, and 150.

absence of the statesman's discernment in him. Though a king, he had no sense of responsibility. When he should be occupying the throne of justice or be attending the *darbār* or be on the saddle leading his army, we find him shut up in the palace or frittering away his precious time in the company of the *maulavīs*, saints or women. This languor continued in him till he suffered defeats at the hands of the Afghāns. For the next five years he roamed from place to place, occasionally roused with hopes but more often bowed with cruel disappointments. But it produced one salutary change in him. It lessened his indolence and during the last eleven years of his life he regained much of his youthful energy. His innate goodness coupled with his soldierly skill made him once more the ruler of Qandahār and Kabul. But it bred in him also a lack of confidence and he who once had insisted on personally leading his army to Qanauj, now felt the need of a master-mind and found it in Bairam Khān.

Since we have mentioned the fundamental defect in his character, the other defects can easily be noticed. He was prone to favouritism and his chief favourite, Mīr Shāh Abul Ma'ālī, was a worthless bigoted person wholly unworthy of the king's attention. Once when the Mīr murdered a Shī'a and Bairam wished to bring him to book, Humāyūn just excused the culprit on the ridiculous plea of the impromptu recitation of a suitable couplet by Bairam Khān. Even the bigoted Sunnī, 'Abdul Qādir Badāūnī¹ bitterly regrets Humāyūn's negligence on this occasion.¹ Similarly the insolence and cruelties of Adham Khān, Māham *Anaga's* son, another unworthy favourite of the king, have led a writer to suggest a criminal or mysterious

¹ See *Bad. Vol. II* tr., 9-10.

connection of the *Anaga* with the king.¹

Humāyūn had tried to compensate for his shortcomings in administration by a gesture of liberality. Both ‘Abdul Qādir Badāūnī² and ‘Abdul Latīf Ṣadr³ praise his open-handedness towards his subjects and of course quote the example of his father before him. Humāyūn was aware that only righteous conduct and arduous routine work would count with his subjects and expressed the same in elegant quatrains;⁴ but he paid no heed to their observances in his daily life. He made some impracticable regulations and introduced useless innovations but made no efforts to improve the lot of his subjects. To sum up, he possessed the traits of a fine gentleman and had in him the various qualities of head and heart but failed as a ruler.⁵

But to the Mughals there was no other choice but Humāyūn. The cultural level of a Mughal court was so high that any and every Tīmūrid prince would not fit in. ‘Askarī and Hindāl were childish and steeped in pleasure and would not do and Kāmṛān would not bear a comparison with the king. The nobles, however turbulent they might be, had the example of Bābur before them and the virtues of Humāyūn weighed heavier with them than his failings, and so they finally chose him as against all the other Tīmūrids. But at the same time they desired him to get rid of his political softness and once this was acceded to, and Kāmṛān had been removed from the

¹ T. A. Vol. II, text, 158. We have been unable to accept Beveridge's contention that Adham Khān was an illegitimate son of Humāyūn. See A. N., addenda no. 48.

² *Bad.*, 468.

³ in his work *Tārīkh-i-Bukhārāi*.

⁴ See Ch. XVII b (5) i and ii.

⁵ See Lane-poole's *Mediaeval India*, 219.

political arena. they steadfastly followed him throughout his Indian campaign.

The contemporary writers considered him to be a great king. This was because he was their patron and it was not a mediaeval practice to critically examine the merits of a patron. There can be no doubt that among the four rulers of the time, Humāyūn, Shēr Shāh, Bahādur Shāh and Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Shēr Shāh was the greatest, possessing culture, breadth of views, military skill and administrative excellence. But it may be claimed that he had been influenced by the Mughal culture and that even when he had driven out the Mughals, he had wished their culture and officials to remain. In *Purāna Qal‘a* it is difficult to distinguish Shēr Shāh’s contributions from Humāyūn’s and Shēr Shāh had tried his utmost to win over Bairam Khān. The Afghān king had most of Humāyūn’s personal virtues and added to them those of a king.

Bahādur Shāh on the other hand was an illiterate, vainglorious, military enthusiast who went on his course of conquest until he came into collision with two great powers, the Mughals on land and the Portuguese at sea. His kingdom, which had suddenly expanded from a small principality, needed to be consolidated. So long as this was not done he could not stand the impact of his two mighty neighbours. Bahādur is a picturesque figure but he did not possess the solid administrative virtues of Shēr Shāh nor the intellectuality of Humāyūn.

Shāh Ṭahmāsp is a much adored monarch, he being the son of the restorer of Shī‘ism and Irānian greatness. The Shāh’s name was well-known in the principal countries of Asia and even of Europe. But when we look more closely into his reign, we notice the absence of those lite-

rary activities which had been the principal feature of Maḥmūd Ghaznavī's period and also of that toleration of other religions and sects of which Bābur and Humāyūn were so proud. Even when the Shāh supported Humāyūn's cause, he extracted his price for the aid rendered. Humāyūn and Muẓaffar Shāh of Gujrāt could show a better example; for, in rendering aid to Sulṭān Ghiyāsuddīn Maḥmūd of Bengal and Sulṭān Nāsiruddīn Maḥmūd of Mālwa respectively they had imposed no conditions whatsoever. However magnificent Ṭahmāsp's reception of the Mughal chief might look and however far-reaching the results of his aid actually proved, to us it appears as much a compliment to Humāyūn's urbanity, liberalism and scholarship as to the proselytizing zeal of the Shāh.

It would have been better if Humāyūn had been born outside the royal family; but even as a king he deserves some praise. Among the long list of the Mughal rulers, except Akbar and perhaps Bābur, none excelled him. Jahāngīr profited by coming immediately after Akbar. Shāh Jahān, in spite of his magnificence, started the downward course of the Mughal empire in several directions. And Aurangzīb, like Humāyūn, would have shone better as a private individual than as a king. But Humāyūn could at least claim that if he had lost his kingdom he regained it and made it possible for his successors to make improvements upon what they had received from him. Like his father, Humāyūn had a large share in the establishment of the Mughal culture in India.

CHAPTER XX

THE KINGSHIP, THE NOBILITY AND THE PEOPLE IN HUMĀYŪN'S TIME

The Mughal kingship¹ in Humāyūn's time was a Central Asian conception. Bābur's rule of four years in India was too brief to develop the institution on independent lines. The ruler was the visible symbol of independence but the actual power he wielded depended upon his personality and force of character. Thus the young and inexperienced Bābur, though he conquered Samarqand and Farghana more than once, found himself in Central Asia overshadowed by the turbulent Mongōl and Turkī nobles like Sultān Aḥmad Tambal,² Auzūn Ḥasan,³ and Khusru Shāh.⁴ When Bābur came to Kabul and obtained another territory there, he set his face against Bāqī Chaghāniānī but had to be content with this limited success. When he wished to subdue Muqīm Arghūn, he found that Shai-bānī Khān was coming to the latter's aid and it was only a decade later that he could wrest Qandahār from the Arghūns. At his death Nizāmuddīn 'Alī Khalīfā seemed all powerful and some of the other nobles including the Mirzās exercised influence on the state. Even the

¹ For the prerogatives of a Muslim monarch see Waḥed Ḥusain's *Administration of justice during the Muslim rule in India*, (W. H. A. J.) Ch. X.

² B. N., 86-8, 91, 100, 106-7, 113, 117, 118-9, 172, 183.

³ *ibid.*, 87, 88, 91, 100, 101, 102, 103.

⁴ *ibid.*, 46-7, 49-50, 57, 60-1; 64, 70, 74, 93, 95, 129-30, 197, 243, 244-5.

Afghāns after Bābur's marriage with Bībī Mubārīka formed a ruling section, other sections being the Turkīs, the Mughals and the Irānīs.

On his accession, Humāyūn continued his father's policy, conciliated his nobles with costly presents and treated them like comrades. Among his nobles were included the learned *maulavīs* and by the foundation of Dīnpanāh he emphasized the importance of this section. His growing contact with the *Shaikhs*, the *Sayyids*, and the '*ulamā*' encouraged the learned from the other countries to seek his patronage and make his court the most brilliant in Asia.

There were some rebellions in the early years of his reign which were followed by complications with the ruler of Gujrāt. It made him leave his peaceful pursuits and lead his army through Mālwa, Rājputāna and Gujrāt. After the first spell of success, he paused, retired to Māndū and reverted to his previous life of ease when trouble again cropped up ending in the loss of his recent conquests and in his retreat to Agra. Next he invaded Bihār with a view to punishing the Afghāns. After Bābur's Bihār campaign in 1529, he considered them his subjects and their nobles the *darbārīs* of the Mughal court. Both Sulṭān Jalāluddīn¹ and Shēr Khān² had contact with Bābur and the Khān had accepted the rank of a Mughal nobleman under Humāyūn. But Shēr Khān had attacked Bengal without obtaining any sanction from the king of Delhi; nor had he signified any intention of augmenting the Mughal territory or prestige by his proposed campaign. Humāyūn compelled to punish the unruly and ever-active Afghān chief, went and conquered Bihār and Bengal.

¹ See B. N., 659, 664, 674, and 676.

² *ibid.*, 652, and 659.

The period of Humāyūn's stay in Bengal when he mostly shut himself up in his palace and withdrew from most of his nobles, is shrouded in mystery. Two of his measures of this period are recorded; one in which he posed as the chief Muslim power and assessed the relative strength of the other Muslim kings and the other when he put a veil on his crown and face and claimed absolute or semi-divine power for himself.¹ To us it appears that he was aiming—in an impractical way—at the restoration of absolute monarchy and thus had withdrawn himself from his nobles. He did not carry out his scheme in every detail but allowed the evening festivities to continue in which his favourite nobles participated. The discontinuance of the official *darbārs* and his self-imposed seclusion prevented the other nobles and the common people from coming into contact with or even getting a distant glimpse of the monarch.

This aloofness had a fatal effect. Humāyūn lost touch with the people who in their turn became indifferent to his cause with the result that disasters followed one after the other and he had to proceed on an exile.

On his return from Īrān, he mended his ways and was oftener in his saddle than in literary assemblies. The change proved fruitful; for, Kāmran was vanquished and Humāyūn reigned once more as the ruler of Kabul and Delhi. About this time he seems to have made two concessions to his nobles; first, to accept the unanimous verdict of his nobility even if he personally disagreed with them and secondly, not to devote himself too exclusively to literary pursuits. His new friends or favourites were Bairam Khān, Tardī Bēg Khān, Mīr Shāh Abul Ma'ālī,

¹ See *Bad. Vol. I* (text), 446 and *T. M. A.*, 117.

‘Alī Qulī Khān and ‘Abdullāh Khān who were all soldiers.

On his restoration as king of Delhi, he had conceived several administrative projects one of which was the division of his kingdom into districts with a governor for each, having absolute powers and an army of 12,000 men in each of them. But his premature death put an end to all his schemes.

Humāyūn seemed to be vacillating between two opposite ideals, one his father’s or the Central Asian, viz., to be the comrade or companion to his nobles, and the other the Indian or the Pahlavī, to assume the absolute or despotic role.

The nobility lived in the same unorganized state as in the time of Bābur. The Turkī, the Uzbek, the Irānī and the Afghān, each jostled against the other for the king’s favour. The *Ma’āsir-ul-umarā* gives a fairly long list of the nobles of Humāyūn’s time viz., Bairam Khān, ‘Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī, Mun‘im Khān, Isma‘il Bēg Dōldī, I’tibār Khān Nāzir, Afzal Khān, Adham Khān, Ibrāhīm Khān Uzbek, Khwāja ‘Abdul Majīd, Sikandar Khān Uzbek, Khwāja Ghiyāsuddīn ‘Alī, Tardī Bēg Khān, Tolak Khān Qōchīn, Hajī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī, Haidar Muḥammad Khān *Akhta Bēgī*, Khizr Khwāja Khān, Khwāja Jalāluddīn Maḥmūd Khurāsānī, Khwāja Mu‘azzam, Khwāja Jahān Harvī, Samanjī Khān Qughuchī, Shāh Budāgh Khān, Shaikh Gadāī Kambo, ‘Abdullāh Khān Uzbek, Qāsim Khān Mīr-i-Bar, Muṣāhib Bēg, Mīr Shāh Abul Ma‘ālī, Muḥammad Sultān Khān-i-Kalān, and Mirzā Sulaimān. Most of them were engaged in war and strife against the foes of the kingdom, against each other or against their king. Humāyūn had tried to classify them into three groups or twelve grades and is said to have thus

introduced the Manṣabdārī system in a crude form.¹ It was only in Akbar's time that the nobles were fully brought under the control of the king.

The poets and other learned men were also counted among the courtiers of Humāyūn's court and were collectively known as *Ahl-i-sa'adat*. Among the poets may be mentioned Shaikh Zainuddīn Khāfī Wafāi, Maulānā Janūbī Badakhshī, the enigmatist, Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandī, Shaikh 'Abdul Wājid Fārighī, Jānī Tamannāi,² Ḥaidar Tūniyānī, Shāh Ṭāhir Khwāndī Dakkhanī, Khwāja Ayyūb, Qāsim Kāhī and Shaikh Jamālī. We would quote a few couplets as samples of the poetry of the time.

(1) Wafāi

غم گریبان گیر شد سر در گریبان چون کشم
 شوق دامن گیر آمد پا بدامن چون کشم
 ای گریبانم ز شوق پاره دامن چاک چاک
 بید تو پا در دامن و سر در گریبان چون کشم

"Grief clings to my collar, how can I put my head into
 it (the collar) ?

Longing holds back my skirt, how can I put my feet
 into it ?

In longing for thee my collar is torn and my skirt
 rent.

Without thee how can I draw my feet into the skirt
 or put my head into the collar ?"³

He was also a noted enigmatist and examples of his enigmas occur in most of the biographies. He died at

¹ See *V. S. A.*, 362.

² *Bad.* calls him Jāhī Yatmiyān.

³ Metaphorically سر در گریبان کشیدن means 'to feel ashamed' and پا بدامن کشیدن 'to be contented.'

Agra and was buried in the mosque built by himself.

(2) Janūbī:

شهنشاهها رخ تو لاله و نسرين لب تو جان
همی بونم لب تو غنچه رنگين شده خندان
نمی گویم خط تو سبزه و ريحان خد تو گل
شود ظاهر قد تو فتنه دوران دم جولان

“O Emperor, Thy face is tulip and wild rose and thy
lips afford life to me.
I see in thy smiling lips a bud of bright hues.
I need not say that the down on thy cheek looks like
verdure and hyacinth nor thy cheek a rose.
Thy form proves the turmoil of the age when thou
dost move.”¹

Badāūnī points out that the quatrain can be read in three metres and with interposition of the words can form other quatrains which again could be recited in more than one metre. He wrote a history of India also. He died in 940 A.H., at Chunār and was buried in the *madrasa* established by himself.

(3) Nādirī: He wrote in honour of his handsome beloved Nizām

من دل شکسته گویم صفت نظام نامی که نداشت بیوصالش دل ناتوان نظامی

“I the broken-hearted am describing the virtues of the
well-known Nizāmī.

Without meeting thee my weak heart has no peace.”
He died in 966 A.H.

¹ The quatrain with translation is also given in G. H. P. L.

(4) Fāriḡhī:

چو تیر خود کشی از سینه ام بگذار پیکان را
مرا دل ده که تا مردانه در راحت دهم جان را

“Since thou thyself shot the arrow at me, let it remain
embedded in my chest
Hearten me that I may die like a hero in thy path.”

He lived like a *darwesh* and recited his verses in a sweet melodious voice. He died in 940 A.H., and was buried in his own monastery. In great indigence he had arrived in India but rose to be one of the chief poets of Humāyūn.

(5) Jānī Tamannāi:

شاعر شاه شمایونم و خاک درگاه	میزند کوکب شاعریم طعنه بیه
خسرو شعوم و ابیات خوشم خیل و سپه	دیدم از بیخوردی ظلم نه جرم و نه گنه
پاره کاغذ اگر از هذیان گشته سیه	سوی هجویش اگر اندیشه شود روی بیه
غرض آنست که این خو صفتان ابله	عزت و حرمت این طایفه دارند نکه
وای آنکس که بخیل شعرا بستیزد	هر که با ما ستیزد بیلا بستیزد

“I am Humāyūn’s poet and dust of his court,
The star of my poetry mocks at the moon,
I am the king of poetry and my horsemen and soldiers
are my superb couplets
From a foolish person I met with tyranny although I
committed no crime nor sin.
If a piece of paper has become black with my ravings,
If I think of satirizing him (who injures me)
My object is (to say) that these asinine fools
Keep in view the respect and honour of this group
(i.e., of poets)
Woe to him who oppresses the poets,
He who injures us plays with calamity.”

When Humāyūn read the last couplet he suggested خدا 'God' for بلا 'calamity' probably in jest. Jānī originally came from Bukhārā and died in 956 from poison administered to him by one of his own slaves.

(6) Ḥaidar Tūniyānī:

ماه محرم آمد و شد گریه فرض عین گوئیم خون بیاد لب تشنه حسین

"The month of Muḥarram has come and the eyes in
duty bound are shedding tears,
I am shedding tears of blood in memory of Ḥusain's
thirsty lips."

Tūniyānī was a good singer and recited his *marsias* or mournful verses in Shī'a *majlises*.

(7) Shāh Tāhir:

در غم آباد جهان عیش از دل ناشاد رفت
خو به غم کردیم چندانی که عیش از یاد رفت

"In this world of woe, pleasure has gone out of my
cheerless heart,
I am so used to grief that pleasure has dropped out
of my memory."

Probably he was Shāh Ṭahmāsp's relation. In Humāyūn's first reign he freely discussed the sectarian questions with the Sunnī courtiers. Later he went to Ahmad-nagar, converted Burhān Nizām Shāh to Shī'ism, became his deputy and then earned fame as a Shī'a saint in the country. Died in 952 A.H.

(8) Khwāja Ayyūb:

ای شاخ گل که همچو سهی قد کشیده
بر آمد چو الف مد ظله
بر گرد لب خطی ز زمرود کشیده
و ز ابروآن قراز الف مد کشیده

“Thy ruddy face looks like a blue water-lily out of the
(besmeared) dust.
Or the veil due to the fire of thy face has turned into
dust.”

Kāhī was versatile; he was not only a poet but also musician and master of *sufi* philosophy and oratory, of enigmas and chronograms, of commentaries on the *Qurān* and of different styles of composition. Later he became one of Akbar’s chief poets.¹

(10) Shaikh Jamālī wrote in praise of Bābur:

شاه دشمن کش ظہیر الدین محمد بابر آنکہ لشکر بنگالہ را ز الغار از کابل کشید

“King Z̤ahīruddīn Muḥammad Bābur, the slayer of
the foe is he,
Who led the Bengal army from Kabul by quick
marches.”

At first he bore the pen-name of Jalālī but at his teacher’s suggestion changed it to Jamālī. He corrected Sulṭān Sikandar Lōdī’s compositions. He died in 942 A.H. and was buried near Qutbuddīn Kākī. Shaikh Gadāi was one of his pupils.

There were a number of religious saints living in Humāyūn’s time. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī* gives the following names with a brief account of each of them:

- (1) Maulānā Khwājagī Kāshānī d. 949.
- (2) Khwāja ‘Abdul Haq d. 959.
- (3) Khwāja Khwānd Maḥmūd d. 954.
- (4) Shaikh ‘Abdul Quddūs d. 946.
- (5) Shaikh ‘Abdul Razzāq Chishtī d. 949.
- (6) Shaikh Husain Khwārizmī d. 956.

¹ For further details, see *Bad.* Vol. III, 172-6.

- (7) Shaikh Aman Pānipatī d. 957.
- (8) Shaikh ‘Abdul Laṭīf Jāmī d. 963.
- (9) Shaikh Sulaimān Mandavī d. 945.
- (10) Shaikh ‘Alāuddīn *bin* Nūruddīn, a descendant of Farīd Ganjshakar, d. 948.
- (11) Shaikh Husain Multānī d. 945.
- (12) Shāh Maṣṣūr d. 963.
- (13) Shaikh Abul Faṭḥ Hidāyatullāh Sarmast d. 963.
- (14) Shaikh ‘Alāuddīn Majzūb d. 948.
- (15) Shaikh Manjhu Ajmērī d. 953.
- (16) Shaikh Ibrāhīm d. 950.
- (17) Shaikh Hasan d. 963.
- (18) Shaikh ‘Alauddīn *bin* Shaikh Badruddīn d. 945.
- (19) Miān Qāzī Khān Zafarābādī d. 950.
- (20) Shaikh ‘Abdul Qādir *bin* Shaikh Muḥammad Husain Gīlānī d. 940.
- (21) Shāh Jalāl Shirāzī d. 944.
- (22) Shaikh Muḥammad Hasan d. 944.
- (23) Khwāja Khālū d. 940.
- (24) Shaikh Salīm Chishtī d. 979.
- (25) *Darwesh* Bahrām Bukhārī Saqqā d. (cir.) 966.¹

The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāh Jabānī* describes their abstinence, accomplishments, selflessness, learning and piety. Very often these saints lived in caves or in forests far away from human habitation. Many of them went on a pilgrimage to Macca more than once or stayed there till their death. We will be content with a specimen of Bahrām Saqqā’s poetry:²

¹ There is a difference of opinion about the date of his death. See *catalogue* of R. A. S. B. Saqqā was elder brother to Bayazīd, the author of *B. B. T. H. B.*

² See no. 669 of R. A. S. B. *cat.*

چوهری این همه سنگریزه رنگین ز کجا ست
 که درخشنده شفاف و بصفا ست
 یک هر سنگ برنگی شده خوشرنگ لطیف
 رنگ آمیزی ایدها مگر از پیش شما ست
 این هنرمندی حاکم ازل خواهد بود
 که به پرواز همه چیده و پاکیزه جلا ست
 گرچه یاقوت بمسی سرخ و لطیف ست پر آب
 چون لب لعل گهربار بتان کی گویا ست
 عارفان این هما سنگ از تو بیک جو نخرند
 گر زمرد و گو الماس و گر کلاه دیا ست
 جوهر بیشتر از انسان نبود در عالم
 صنعتش را نتوان کرد که آن سر خدا ست
 گوهری از سخن زنده دلان بهتر نیست
 در دریا همه خاک آمده این روح فرا ست
 همچو سقا گهر از بحر دل خود بکف آر
 که همه در و جواهر او خاک بها ست

'O Jeweller wherefrom are these coloured stone-pieces
 That are lustrous, transparent, and of rich purity.
 Though each stone has its own tinge and excellence,
 Yet these have all come from thee.

They must be due to the skill of the Jeweller of the
 day of commencement of this universe (God),
 For they are all select pieces and possess purity and
 glitter.

Though ruby is crimson, lovely and lustrous
 Can it bring forth words like the crimson lips of the
 beloved?

The discerning will not take the stones for one grain
 of millet,
 Be they emeralds or diamonds or blades of green
 grass,

There is no jewel more precious than man in this
 world
 And his qualities cannot be described, for they are
 one of God's secrets.
 No stone is better than the words that befall the lips
 of live-hearted, i.e., the pious,
 The pearl of the ocean turns to dust, these (the words)
 exalt the soul.
 When the oyster opens its lips once,
 The value of its pearl is evident to the jeweller.
 Like Saqqa, cull pearls from the sea of the soul,
 For all other pearls and diamonds are like dust."¹

Besides the poets Humāyūn's court was full of other learned men who engaged themselves in the different branches of learning including sufism and medicine. They were called *hakīms* and *maulānās*.

- (1) Maulānā Fakhruddīn 'Alī Al-Naqshbandī d. 938; was learned in mysticism.
- (2) Mīr Abul Baqā d. 948; was one of the most trusted nobles of Bābur and Humāyūn and had to his credit several noted works.
- (3) Maulānā 'Alauddīn Kirmānī belonged to the Shāfi'ī sect; author of *Sharab-i-Lama'āt*, and a *khamsa*. d. 939.
- (4) Maulānā Usāmuddīn Isfarainī, writer of numerous works, among which may be mentioned *Hāshia-i-Baizāwī*, *Tatwīy*, *Fawā'id-i-Ziābia*. d. 944.

¹ Some details of Saqqā's life are obtained from B. B. T. H. B. Originally he was a Mughal nobleman, turned into a *darwesh* and supplied drinking water to the thirsty soldiers. He lies buried in Burdwan and in his enclosure lie also Shēr Afgan, Nur Jahān's husband, and Qutbuddīn, Jahāngīr's foster-brother.

- (5) Khwāndamīr wrote *Ḥabib-us-siyar*, *Qānūn-i-Humāyānī*, *Khulaṣat-ul-Akbbār*, *Ma'āsir-ul-Mulūk*, *Makārim-ul-Akhlāq*, *Dastūr-ul-Wuzarā*, *Akbbār-ul-Akhiyār*, *Jawāhir-ul-Akbbār*, *Gharāib-ul-Asrār*, *Muntakhab-i-Tārīkh-i-Wassāf*, *Nāma-i-Nāmī*, *Rauḡat-ul-Safā*, Volume II.¹ Humāyūn bestowed on him the title of Amīr-i-Muwarrikh. d. 942.
- (6) Maulānā Ḥanafī, author of *Adab-ul-Muta'allimī*; died at Bukhārā in 947.
- (7) Sayyid Mīrak Shāh, author of *Sharah-i-Ḥaṣn i-Ḥaṣīn* d. 956.
- (8) Mīr Yahya Qazvīnī, author of *Lubb-ul-Tawārīkh*, d. 964.
- (9) Maulānā Shahābuddīn, a noted scholar and enigmatisht. d. 94.
- (10) Shaikh Mūsā Lahōrī, a noted reciter of the *Qurān*, d. 963.
- (11) Mīr Sayyid Rafī'uddīn, a student of Ḥadīṣ or the Prophet Muḥammad's sayings, d. 954.
- (12) Maulānā Shamsuddīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī, author of *Ma'āsir-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī*.
- (13) Maulānā Jalāluddīn, Ṣadr-us-Ṣudūr in Humāyūn's time. Died of a wound received at the battle of Chausa, 946.
- (14) Shaikh Ḥasan bin Maḥmūd Anṣārī Shīrāzī, a calligraphist, d. 956.
- (15) Shaikh Jalāluddīn bin 'Abdullāh, a calligraphist and rhetorician, d. 961.
- (16) Maulānā Muḥammad Majd Khudāwand Khān, a noted nobleman of Gujrāt who came over to Humāyūn after his conquest of Bahādur Shāh's

¹ See the introduction of the *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī*, by Dr. Hidayat Husain.

kingdom, d. 959.

- (17) Sayyid Muḥammad bin Sayyid Mu‘azzam, an elocutionist, d. 963.¹

We would close the topic of the saints and the learned men with the following observations:—

(1) They included men of the different sects of Islam who were allowed freedom of speech in religious discussions. Probably Shāh Ṭahmāsp’s friendship with Humāyūn led to the protection of the Shī‘as in the Mughal court.

(2) Most of the learned men dealt with the religious learning and studied منقول ‘borrowed’ or معقول ‘excogitated’ branches of knowledge, also the *Qurān*, its commentaries, marginal notes or appendices and the Traditions.

(3) Many of them were learned in a general sense and were called *Ṣāhib-i-‘ilm-o-dānīsh* or *Ṣāhib-i-‘ulūm-i-rasmī-o-kaśbī*. Some of them possessed the knowledge of mysticism or sufism.

(4) Several of them had established their own school, although they were maintained from the state endowments. The king and the nobles welcomed their company but many of them preferred to devote themselves to their studies. Some of them were members of the king’s court.

(5) Several of them were noted for their works and wrote in Persian or Arabic in more than one style and took delight in ornate compositions, i.e., filling their writings with high-sounding words and abstruse similes or metaphors.

As regards the people in general, we find a paucity

¹ The medical men have not been separately mentioned. For a description of medicine in Humāyūn’s reign see the article, *Medicine at the Mughal court* by D. V. S. Reddy in *J. I. H.* April 1940.

of historical or economic facts to enable us to get a statistical account of their average earnings or to draw a sketch of the general level of their prosperity. Only we know that the cost of living was very low in the first half of the sixteenth century and that the early Mughal period like the Lōdī period was marked by a widespread revival of religion and a consequent development of the Indian languages.

Urdu still continued in an undeveloped state. As the Delhi kingdom grew in area and in wealth 'a mongrel pigeon form of speech, made up of contributions from the various languages' grew in Delhi. Of course *Braja Bhasha* or its sister dialect spoken round the capital had a large share in moulding the slowly growing language of the military camp or the cantonment. It had come into being with the advent of the Muslims in India. The presence of the Muslims had introduced Persian, Turkī and Arabic words into Hindi writings, an example of which is found in Chānd Bardāi's *Prithvi Raj Rāsō*, written at the commencement of the thirteenth century.¹ The next stage in the growth of the Urdu language is marked in the works of Amīr Khusrau who was the first to write a verse in Urdu. Though a hybrid composition, the metre was Persian. He gave an impetus to Urdu by his use of indigenous words, his *pabelīs*, *anmils*, *dbakōslas*, *dosukhnas*, *makarnis* and lastly by his metrical dictionary of *Khālīq bārī*. Since the learned Hindus confined themselves to Sanskrit and the different dialects of Hindi and the Muslims too kept to their Persian and Turkī, Urdu could only develop very slowly. The next stage may be seen in the Lōdī period when the Kayesthas in large numbers joined the state service and took to Persian. A consider-

¹ See *Āb-i-Hayāt* by Muḥammad Husain Āzād, 16.

able number of Persian words entered their speeches. Still up to Humāyūn's reign, it may be said that the Urdu language was confined to speech and was noted for its simplicity and sufficed for the few wants of the soldiers and the farmers around the capital.

The next stage of development is noticed in Humāyūn's reign when the Muslim writers began to write in the Persian script but clothed their thoughts in Hindi.¹ This statement may especially be said to apply to the sufi writers who wrote for the masses. Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr, the founder of the Maḥdavī movement in India, had died in the opening years of the sixteenth century and his movement had almost disappeared in Islām Shāh's reign. But Muslim sufism had continued to thrive and its greatest exponent was Malik Muḥammad Jāisī and his sufistic works are *Padmāvat*, *Akbarāvat* and *Ākhirat-nāma*, all written in the Persian script. *Padmāvat* written in 1540 is a notable work in Hindi metre and in the Hindi dialect of his district largely tinctured with Persian words and idioms. The theme was 'Alauddin Khalji's conquest of Chitōr but the author in the final verses explained that his work was an allegory and by Chitōr he meant the body of man, by Ratan Sēn, the soul, by the parrot, the *guru* or spiritual preceptor, by *Padmāvati*, wisdom and by 'Alāuddīn, delusion. The excellence of the work may be seen from the following translation of the description of Ceylon:

“The pleasant thick mango groves bear fruit and the more
fruit they bear, the more (humbly) do the trees bow
their heads.

*

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¹ See *Persian influence on Hindi* by Ambika Prasad Bajpayi.

From the *Mahua* doth such sweetness exude that honey is
its flavour and flowers its scent;

* * * * *

They all appear with nectar-like branches, and he who
once tasteth them remaineth ever longing for more.

* * * * *

There dwell the birds, singing in many tongues and sport-
ing joyfully as they look upon these nectar branches.
At dawn the honey-seekers are fragrant and the turtle-
dove cries out, 'Tis thou and only thou' (*eka-i tu hai*).
The emerald parroquets sportingly rejoice and the rock-
pigeons cry *kurkur* and fly about.

The hawk-cuckoo crieth for its beloved and the skulking
warbler shouteth *tubin kbi*.

Kuhu kuhu ever crieth the cuckoo, while the king-crow
speaketh in many tongues.

'Tyre, tyre' (*dahi, dahi*) crieth the milk-maid bird while
the queen-pigeon plaintively telleth its tale of woe.

The peacock's cry, *kūn kūn*, soundeth sweet to the ear and
loudly caw the crows.

Filling the orchards, sitteth every bird that hath a name
and each praiseth the creator in his own tongue."¹

The most flourishing period of Urdu literature comes
with Walī (1668-1744). He lived in South India and has
been called the father of the *Rekhta* (Urdu) or the Chaucer
of Urdu poetry. It was at this time that the simple
tongue of the previous century adopted wholesale Persian
vocabulary, Persian constructions, Persian metres, Persian
script, Persian themes, imagery, allusions, and peculiar
phrases and constructions. Henceforth 'it followed the

¹ *Padmāvat canto II, 27-9.* For the translation see Keay: *His-
tory of the Hindi literature.*

laws of Persian prosody completely and implicitly.¹

Turning to the history of Hindi literature we find it associated with a great religious revival. India had passed through a series of philosophic upheaval dating from the neo-Brahmanic revival in the eighth century of Shankara and his preachings of *Advaitāvād* or monism. Rāmānuja in the twelfth century maintained the *dvaitāvād* i.e., the separate existence of the individual beings (*jivātmā*) from the Supreme Being (*Paramātmā*), worshipped Rāma in place of Shankara's Shiva as the representation of the Supreme Being and preached against the restrictions of caste. Simultaneously with Rāmānuja, arose another reformer in the south, Ānandatīrtha who like Rāmānuja preached *dvaitism* and kept to Sanskrit as the sacred language. But Ānandatīrtha maintained the distinctions of the caste.

Passing over Nāmdēva (14th century) we come to a much more popular figure. Rāmānanda (1400-70),² at the cost of his excommunication by the other followers of the Rāmānuja cult, preached to the masses and in the vernacular and accepted disciples from all castes and even from other religions. He emphasized the supreme importance of *Bhakti* and worshipped the Supreme Being under the name of Rāma. To him Rāma alone was the source of release from the evils of transmigration, and fervent prayers alone could secure this release. He was a practical teacher and though he accepted disciples from all castes, he did not forbid idolatry nor did he try to do away with the system of caste altogether. What he preached was an ardent faith in the reality of the one

¹ Ram Babu Saxena: *History of Urdu literature*.

² There is a great divergence of opinion among the scholars about several of the dates in this chapter.

personal God. Among his disciples were

Pīpa, the Rājā of Gagraungarh, born 1425.

Dhana, the Jāt, *b.* 1415.

Sen, the barber at the court of the Rājā of Rewa.

Rāi Dās, a *chamār*.

Kabīr, the weaver, born of Muslim parents.

Each of his twelve principal disciples had established a Rāmānandī sect. Since the sermons were delivered in the vernacular, Hindi literature got an impetus as it never did before.

Of Rāmānandī disciples, Kabīr, (1440-1518) was the most prominent. Though in his lifetime Kabīr did not attract much notice, his *Sākbīs* or sayings, 5,000 in number and Rāmāinīs, (short doctrinal poems) are recited today by several lacs of his followers and also by others. He spoke of the creator under the name of Rāma but also used other names, e.g. Allāh, Gōvinda and Hari. He condemned idolatry, incarnations and the caste system and like his master, Rāmānanda, preached deism. As Kabīr was ostracised and expelled from Benares, his native town, he stayed at Maghar in Gorakhpūr district till his death and counted Hindus and Muslims both among his disciples. Besides the *Sākbīs* and the *Rāmāinīs*, there are other collections of his sayings known as the *Bijak*, the *Sabdas*, the *Chauntīsī*, the *Birbulīs*, the *Kaharās*, the *Vasantas*, the *Belīs*, the *Chancharīs*, and the *Hindōlās*.¹ The dialect used is the Avadhī. We quote one of his poems:—

‘If God be within a mosque, then to whom does this world
belong?

If Rām be within the image, which you find upon your

¹ Some of his poems have been translated by Tagore in his ‘*Songs of Kabir*’.

pilgrimage, then who is there to know what happens without ?

Harī is in the east, Allāh is in the west. Look within thy heart for there thou wilt find Karīm and Rāma. All the men and women of the world are his living forms; Kabīr is the child of Allāh and Rāma. He is my *guru*, He is my *pīr*.

But the greatest exponent of the Rāma cult was Tulsī Dās (1532-1623). He was seventh in descent from Rāmānanda and like him proved a mighty reformer. He did not actually found a separate sect, but his writings today provide solace to some ninety millions of the Hindus. One of the greatest poets and reformers, he tolerated all forms of belief and non-belief in the Hindu cults and preached the oneness of the Supreme Being, believed in His supreme mercy and emphasized the sinful nature of man; he further propounded that God in his infinite mercy had become incarnate in the person of Rāma to relieve the world of sin and that Rāma having returned to heaven is still pleading for the salvation of the sinful man. More important were his enunciation of brotherhood of man and of his duties to his neighbours. The lowly, pious, and saintly life of the Gōswāmī has continued to move generations of the Hindus and his works, *Rāma-charita-mānas*, *Vinaya patrika*, *Rāma Gitāvalī*, *Kavittāvalī*, *Satsai*, *Dōhāvalī* or *Dōhā Rāmāyana* are lovingly recited in the Hindu homes. Since he wrote his epics in Avadhī dialect of the eastern Hindi, all later writers have adopted the dialect for epic poetry. The following was written in praise of some obscure person who bore the same name as the famous financier of Akbar:

“Lord of but four small villages yet a mighty monarch

whose kingdom was himself; in the age of evil hath the sun of Todar set.

The burden of Rāma's love, great though it was, he bore unto the end; but too heavy was the burden of the world and so he laid it down.

Tulsī's heart is like a pure fountain in the garden of Todar's virtues; and when he thinketh of them, it overfloweth and tears well forth from his eyes.

Todar has gone to the dwelling place of his Lord and therefore doth Tulsī refrain himself; but hard is it for him to live without his pure mind.

Along with the Rāma cult had also spread the Krishna cult. The followers generally known as the Vaishnavas had existed for several centuries in the past, e.g., in the twelfth century Jayadēv had flourished in Bengal,¹ and in the fifteenth century Narsingh Mehta in Gujrāt, and Vidyāpatī Thākur and Umāpatī in Bihār, but it was Vallabhāchārya (1471-1531) who gave the greatest impetus to the spread of the Krishna cult. His works were written in Sanskrit but his son, Vithalnāth (1515-85) and the disciples of the father and the son, Sura Dās, Krishna Dās, Parmānand, Kumbha Dās, Chaturbhuj Dās, Chhīt Swāmī, Danda Dās and Gōvinda Dās, the eight together known as the Ashta Chhāp helped in popularizing the cult among the masses by writing in Hindi. The Vaishnava love for the deity formed a distinct group of the *bhaktas* and differed considerably from the Rāmānandīs or the Kābīrpanthīs. The Kabīrpanthīs accepted Rāma as a personal God but rejected idolatry or the doctrine of

¹ Some biographers think that he flourished in the 13th or the 14th century.

incarnation; the Rāmānandīs including Tulsī Dās permitted idolatry and accepted Rāma as an incarnation and adored him as the Supreme Being; the Vaishnavas substituted Krishna for Rāma as the Supreme Being. But there is a still greater difference between the followers of the Rāma cult and those of the Krishna cult. To the former Rāma alone was the object of love while among the latter along with the adoration of Krishna grew up the deification of Rādhā. Since the common theme for the Vaishnavas was Rādhā's love for Krishna, the Vaishnava literature likened the yearning of the individual soul for the deity to the personal adoration of a woman for her lover. 'Its' (soul's) devotion to the deity is pictured by Rādhā's self-abandonment to Krishna, and all the hot-blood of oriental passion is encouraged to pour forth in one mighty torrent of praise and prayer to the infinite Creator who waits with loving outstretched arms to receive the worshipper into his bosom and to convey him safely across the seemingly shoreless ocean of existence.'¹ Sometimes the writings describe the most intimate relations of man and wife but the pious votaries find nothing objectionable in them.

An early devotee of Krishna was Mīrā Bāi². Born about 1498 A.D., she was the daughter of Ratan Singh of Merta, was married to Bhōjrāj, the eldest son of Rānā Sāngā, in 1516 but became a widow two years later. She

¹ The *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Ch. XI.

² An excellent representation of the devotee is given by Banke Behari in his *Story of Mīrā Bāi*, (B. B. M. B.) Of course it is not claimed to be historical for the writer brings in Akbar and makes him meet Mīrā (p. 19). This is an anachronism easily excusable in a work which concentrates on her philosophy of love and not on her biography. The songs (2) and (3) quoted on pages 386-7 are also given there.

became a passionate devotee of Krishna or Ranachhōr. Rānā Bikramājīt or Vikramāditya (1531-9)¹ as the worshipper of Ēklinga (Shiva) did not relish her Vaishnava leanings² and her extravagant charities to the *sādhūs* and the *sanyāsīs*; so on Tulsī Dās's advice she left her home, became a *sanyāsin* and stayed at Mathura. In later years she had moved to Dwārakā where she died in 1540.³ She had written a work known as Rāg-gōvinda and her songs collectively are known as Mīrā Bāi's *Karcha*. We give the following illustrations of her songs:—

(1) O friend! I find it impossible to live without Hari,
My mother-in-law quarrels with me, my sister-in-law
scolds me, the Rānā is displeased with me.

He has placed sentinels at my door and has locked my
room.

But this love (for Krishna) continues from the previous
births, how can I give it up?

Mīrā loves her lord, Giridhar Nāgar (Krishna), others do
not appeal to her.

(2) O beloved! Come and grant me a glimpse of thee;
for without thee I cannot live.

Just as a lotus cannot exist without water or moon with-
out night, so I cannot subsist without thee.

I roam restlessly day and night and my heart is eaten
away in thy separation,

I feel no hunger in the day and get no sleep at night and
no word passes my lips.

Not a word can I utter. This heart-burn can be extin-
guished only by union with thee,

¹ See U. R. I.

² See B. B. M. B., 42 where in her song Mīrā complains of his oppressions.

³ U. R. I., 357-60.

Why give pain, O knower of hearts? O Lord! Take pity
and unite me with thee.

Mīrā is thy maid through countless births and lies prostrate
at thy feet.

(3) O friend! I am love-maddened, but none feels my
pangs,

Over the stake (pale) is spread my bed, how can I get
sleep?

In the sky above is spread the bed of my beloved. How
can I meet him?

The wounded alone knows the sufferings of the wounded
or the one who inflicts the wound.

She who burns herself on the pyre knows the feelings of
one like her or the one for whose sake she burns
herself.

Stung by pain I roam from forest to forest but find no
physician,

O Lord! Mīrā's pain can only be relieved when the dark-
complexioned (Krishna) comes as a physician.

Sura Dās (1483-1563) was another devotee of the
Krishna cult. He was the son of Bābā Rām Dās, a Brah-
man court-singer of Akbar and disciple of Vallabhā-
chārya. He has also indicated his descent from Chānd
Bardāi and was blind either from birth or from a later
period of his life and was known as the blind bard of
Agra, though he had mostly lived at Mathura and Gau
Ghāt.¹ He wrote several works in Hindi, (1) a number of
episodes and passages from *Bhāgwat Purān* reproduced in
exquisite verse (2) Sura Sāgar and Surāvalī, a collection
of lyric poems on the worship of Krishna and Rādhā.
(3) *Sābitya-laharī* containing a number of emblematic

¹ Situated between Agra and Mathura.

verses (*Drishtakūt*) with explanatory notes and (4) the versification of the story of Nala and Damayantī—together some 75,000 verses. Today, he and Tulsī Dās are considered the greatest exponents of Hindi, the former possessing more *aindriyata* or realism and the latter more *bhāvamayata* or idealism. An oft-quoted couplet making a reference to the merits of the different Hindi poets says, 'Sura is the sun, Tulsī the moon, Kesava Dās a cluster of stars but the poets of today are like so many glowworms giving light here and there.' An anonymous poet of Akbar's court thus comments on Sura Dās's poetic excellence, 'Gang excels in sonnets, Bīrbal in the Kavitta metre, Kesava's meaning is ever profound, but Sura possesses the excellence of all the three.' As a specimen of his poetry the following may be quoted:¹

'All the days are not alike;

One day king Harish Chandra had in his power wealth
like Mount Mērū,

The next day he went to live in the house of a *chandāl* and
removed the discarded clothes of the corpse from
the cremation ground;

One day a man is a bridegroom attended by a bridal
company and in every direction flags are placed;

The next day he has to live in the forest and there stretches
forth his hands and legs;

One day Sītā is crying in a dense forest;

The next day, re-united with Rāma Chandra, both go
about in a chariot of flowers;

One day Raja Yudhisthira was reigning with Shrī Bhagwān
(Krishna) as his follower;

The next day, (his wife) Draupadī, is disrobed and Dusā-

¹ See Keay: *History of Hindi literature*, 74.

san takes away her clothes.

The doings of the former births appear; O foolish mind
give up anxiety;

Sura Dās says, 'How far can I describe the qualities?
True are the letters written by the creator (on the
forehead).'

In Bengal the religious revival took centuries to culminate in Chaitanya's ardent love for Kṛishna. Earlier at the time of the Muslim conquest of Bengal we find the *Nāth* and the *Dharma* cults flourishing side by side with Mahāyān or Vajrayān Buddhism, Tāntricism and the Vāmāchārī cult. The Nāth cult believed in Mīna Nāth and Gōrakh Nāth or the latter's disciples, Hari-Siddha and Māya-matī and formed a compromise between Shaivism and Buddhism; the Dharma cult was a degraded form of Buddhism. Both the Nāth and the Dharma cults emphasized the observance of the moral codes and Prince Gopi Chandra of the Maynamatī songs faces temptation and prince Lau Sen of the Dharma literature conquers the human passions. But the Tāntrics and the Vaishnavas of the old school revolted against all the rigours of asceticism and yielded to profligacy and sexual pleasures. It was a prevalent fashion to be devoted to a woman other than one's own wife for *tāntric* practices. Among the later Buddhists of both Mahāyān and Vajrayān schools and among their *bhikṣhūs* and *bhikṣhunīs* even, the *Sa-bajiya dharma* became associated with illicit love.¹ The last was an off-shoot of the Vāmāchārī cult which practised the vile *chakrapūjā* (the circle-worship).

Such was the picture at the advent of the Muslims

¹ See D. C. Sen's *Chaitanya and his Age (S. C. A.)*, Ch. I. The Vajrayān influence is seen in the erotic sculptures of Jagannāth Puri, Konārak and Bhubanēshwar.

in Bengal. Abhirām Swāmī (b. 1095), king Lakshman Sen and the poet Jayadev (12th c.) had mistresses and made love to the wives of the other people. The Krishna *dhāmālīs* of the *āsal* type were so obscene that they were recited outside the village. Umāpati and Vidyāpati (13-14th c.) and Chandī Dās (14-15th c.) improved the moral tone of the Bengali writings of their age by their songs on Krishna and other poems. Partly by them and partly by the Vaishnava preachers like Mādhyāchārya (b. 1191), Vishnu Purī (13th c.), Mādhavēndra Purī, Kēshava Bhāratī, Ishwar Purī (15th c.), Adwaitāchārya (b. 1434), and Nityānanda (b. 1473), the ground had been prepared for the greatest Hindu saint of Bengal, Chaitanya. He was born on February 18, 1486 in a Vaishnava family, married at an early age the daughter of Vallabhāchārya and after studying at Nadia, the well-known seat of Sanskrit learning, and acquiring a vast amount of learning followed the example of his elder brother, Vishwarūp, and became a *sanyāsī* in 1509. Henceforth he became an ardent devotee and preacher of the Krishna cult. His asceticism, chaste life and learning,¹ his spiritual kinship with Adwaitāchārya and Nityānand, the spirit of comradeship among his followers, the abolition of distinctions of class or caste, the organization of *kīrtan* processions and congregational prayers, and the resuscitation of folk songs of Bengal known as the *manō-barshais*,—all these combined to unleash a wave of enthusiasm and of hope over Bengal and Orissa. Not only did the learned scholars like Adwaitāchārya, Murari Gupta, Vāsudēva Sārbabhauma, Lōkanāth Gōswāmī, Bhugarva,

¹ He knew besides Sanskrit and Bengali, Hindi, Maithili, Telegu, Malayalam, Canarese, Pali and Prakrit and was called *Bādi Singha* (lion of debate). See *S. C. A.*, Ch. XII.

Sribāsa, Kabi-Karnapūr, Rāmānand Rāi, Sanātan, Rūpa and Jīva Gōswāmī, Narahari, Basu Ghosh and Gōvinda Ghosh join him but the humbler folk too came to his fold in hundreds and thousands. The despised Buddhist popularly known as the *Nera-Neris* and the Sahajiyas found a solace in his mission of love. Sultān Ḥusain Shāh, the ruler of Bengal, countenanced his cause¹ and Pratāprudra Dēo, the ruler of Orissa, became his disciple.² Except for a travel to the south and west India including Travancore, Mathura, Allahabad and Benares which took him six years (1509-15), he mostly resided at Jagannath Puri and died there in 1533.

Chaitanya's age is the golden age of the Vaishnavas and in grateful memory of their great master they have deified not only the principal seer but also his co-workers, Adwaitāchārya and Nityānanda and his disciples, Sribāsa, Narōttama and Shāmānanda. So long as he lived, he exercised a wholesome influence on Hindu Bengal:

(1) He admitted the decadent Buddhists, Vāmāchārīs and Sahajiyas to his fold and purged them of their vices. He gave them an opportunity to lead a chaster and healthier life and to make themselves helpful to the social and religious life of the times.

(2) He abolished all caste distinctions and proclaimed the equality of man. He sought to emancipate the depressed classes who thus found in him a saviour. Even a few Muslims joined him and one of them known as Hari Dās, the senior was one of his principal disciples whose Samādhi at Puri is an object of adoration for the Vaishnavas. Sanātan, who had been outcasted because of his unorthodox ways, was another of his principal

¹ See *S. C. A.*, Ch. IX.

² *Ibid.*, Ch. VI.

disciples and later on under Chaitanya's orders founded Brindāvan.¹ The Kayastha and Vaidya Vaishnavas freely made disciples of the Brahmans. By his catholicism he stopped the wholesale conversion of the lower classes of the Hindus to Islam.

(3) Without making celibacy an indispensable condition for admission to his fold, he set an example for his celebrate followers to keep aloof from the company of women. Even the *Sabajiyas* and the *Nera-Neris* had to conform to his strict moral code and abstain from promiscuous sensuality.

(4) By his personal example rather than by mere sermons he maintained an intensity of faith for Krishna in his followers. Struck by his saintliness and fervour even the eighty-year old Adwaitāchārya and his father-in-law Vallabhāchārya² became his disciples. In order to keep up the ardour of his devotees he encouraged *sankīrtan* processions or congregational songs.

(5) He bridged the gulf between *advaitābād* (monism)³ and *dvaitāvād* (dualism)⁴ and sought to preach what may be called *achintya bhēdābhēd* or *dvaitādvaita*, viz., that the individual souls though separate from the Supreme Being, obtain by their faith and fervour a state of perfection when they see nothing but Him, 'the senses, in fact, instead of leading to the consciousness of the many make the devotee aware of the presence of Him only so absolu-

¹ The orthodox Hindus of Jessore consider the water of a tank originally dug by Sanātan to be unclean even to this day.

² Lakshmi, his daughter and Chaitanya's wife, died young and Chaitanya married again.

³ Sankara's teaching that the universe is identical with the deity.

⁴ That the individual souls (*jivātmās*) are distinct from the Supreme Being (*Paramātmā*).

tely that he forgets his own existence.”¹

In his preachings Chaitanya met with no opposition from Sultān Husain Shāh, the ruler of Bengal (1493-1518). The latter appreciated his success,² even when Chaitanya converted Muslims into Vaishnavas and persuaded the Sultān’s ministers, Sanātan and Rūpa, to become his disciples. Pratāprudra Deo actually became his follower and after his master’s death, had no heart to visit his capital at Puri but remained away till his death in an obscure village.

Chaitanya by his deep interest in *Krishna-līlā-bhūmī* restored Brindāvan to its old glory. Sanātan, Rūpa, and their nephew, Jīva Goswāmī, and also Lōkanāth Gōswāmī and Bhugarva, all Chaitanya’s disciples, went there and by their saintly lives attracted others to that place. Brindāvan was repopulated and there rose in no time a thousand temple-pinnacles all dedicated to Lord Krishna. In the task of restoration of the old glory to the neglected town, they were not hampered by any interference from the ruler of Delhi.³ This illustrates as much the political sanity and toleration in the rulers of the surrounding Muslim government as the religious piety of the Vaishnavas.

Though Chaitanya, Adwaitāchārya and Nityānanda had no works to their credit, Chaitanya’s other followers produced a vast amount of Krishna literature. In this connection may be mentioned the name of Rūpa, Sanātan, and Jīva who were voluminous writers and also those of Raghunāth Dās, Murari Gupta, Narahari Sarkār, Gōvinda

¹ See *S. C. A.* (supplement), Ch. I.

² See the Bengali quotation in *D. G. B. S. C.*, 31. It is from the contemporary biography, *Chaitanya Charitāmrita*.

³ Muthura is only 33 miles from Agra and 89 miles from Delhi.

Dās, Swarūp Dāmōdar, Kabi-karnapur, Gōpāl Bhatta and Krishna Dās Kavirāj.

Chaitanya placed before his disciples some of the noblest ideals. They were to possess, among others, the qualities of compassion, innocence, freedom from desire, abstinence, self-control and learning, veneration for all forms of life, faith in Krishna and to sing devotional songs in *sankīrtan* parties.

With the death of the seer, the golden age of Vaishnavism also was over. Henceforth almost to the end of the century (1590) we find the cult in a state of torpor.

In the Punjab also had arisen a great ascetic known as *Guru* Nānak. Born in a Khatri family in 1469 at Talwandi, now known as Nankana Saheb, he was at first in the service of Daulat Khān Lōdī, the governor. Later he became an ascetic and travelled far and wide going as far as Baghdād in Mesopotamia.¹ He met Bābur at Sayyidpūr and described in his songs the condition of the Punjab during his invasions. One of them runs as follows:—

‘Bābur ruled over Khurāsān² and hath terrified Hindustan.
The creator takes no blame to Himself; it was Death
disguised as a Mughal who made war on us
When there was such a slaughter and lamentation, did not
thou, O God, feel pain?
Creator ! Thou belongest to all
If a tyrant slay a tyrant, one is not angry;
But if a ravening lion fall on a herd, its master (Ibrāhīm)
should show his manliness,

¹ His presence in Baghdād is attested by an inscription dated 927 A. H. See B. E. *Kb*.

² Meaning Kabul, for Bābur had never ruled over Khurāsān

The dogs of Lōdī have spoiled the priceless inheritance.

When they are dead no one will regard them,
O God! Thou thyself joinest and Thou thyself separat—lo! this is thy greatness.

If anyone gives himself a great name and enjoy himself to his heart's content,

In God's view he is as a worm which nibbleth corn;
But he who while alive is dead, may gain something, O Nānak by repeating the Name.¹

He preached sincerity, humility and contentment e.g., 'Let contentment be your ear-rings, and modesty your begging-pouch. Besmear your body with the ashes of meditation' and again, 'continence is the furnace and patience the goldsmith, pure reason is the anvil and the Vedas are the tools. Fear of God is the crucible.' In the *Japji*² he describes the relations of the *Guru* and the disciple:

"*Gurmukh* (disciple) is the Nāda, *Gurmukh* the Veda, *Gurmukh* pervades everywhere.

The *Guru* is Shiva, the *Guru* is Vishnu, the *Guru* is Brahma as also Pārvatī.

Even if I knew Him, I should not describe him, as to describe Him is impossible.

The *Guru* has taught me one thing: He is the all-giver, He should never be forgotten."

On the massacre of Sayyidpūr, Nānak says:

"There be rolling in dust the honoured heads of the

¹ See Macauliffe: *The Sikh religion*, Vol. I, 119.

² The opening verses in the *Ādī Granth*, so called because they are recited by the pious sikhs as morning prayer. See Mehta Udhodas's *The Japji Sabeḥ of Guru Nānak*, Ch. I, V. 7-10.

beautiful women of the place, their hair-dressing still moist with perfumed wax and the sacred vermilion-mark still wet on their forehead,

The sword of Bābur hath clipped their heads without a thought and their tresses lie scattered in dust, no one can say whose heads are these !

How strange is thy dispensation, Lord ! How strange thy visitation !

These women adorned the bright halls of pleasure once and as new brides sat with their bridegrooms,

And they were once swinging in swings of love; the lucky ivory bangles shook in their arms and their feet made music as they walked.

* * * *

To-day the same brides walk along the highways, their pearl necklaces broken and halters round their necks, as poor mean captives led !

Youth and Beauty are deemed foes !

The mere slaves of Bābur march them forth in utter disgrace and filth.

* * *

Bābur's cohorts are rolling over the land now and there is no escape !

The people cannot eat in peace nor can they bathe nor offer food to their gods !

No women can sit and cook nor annoint themselves with *tilak* on their forehead !

There is no leisurely life now; it is all confusion and death !

They only see their ruined homes, their widowhood and orphaned life, they weep and cry and wail !”

Nānak was a social reformer and he condemned in

trenchant terms the conventions of the age and proclaimed even in Daulat Khān's presence that there was neither a true Hindu nor a true Muslim in the land, that 'the *Qurān*, the *Ka'ba*, the rosary, fasts and prayers were all unavailing with the *Guru*.' He preached equality of man by saying, 'castes are folly, names are folly, all creatures have one shelter, that of God' and discouraged pilgrimage, penance and even alms-giving though actually the practices continued even among his followers. What Nānak did was to provide his followers with a wider outlook.¹ Nānak's message consisted of three things, the true Lord, the *Guru*, and the Name. But his monotheism is hardly to be distinguished from the pantheism of the Hindus and he believed in the transmigration of the soul and in its ultimate absorption into the Supreme Being when the individuality ended. 'His object was to purge Hinduism of the dross which had gathered about it; to lift it from the slough of polytheism and vain ceremonials in which it was choked and to bring it back to the firm ground and the pure air of the Vedas.'² He died in 1539 A.D.

After him Angad (Lehna) acted as the *Guru* till 1552 and then Amar Dās till 1574 and both continued Nānak's ideals of piety and spiritual upliftment. Mr. Teja Singh considers the spirit of obedience to be the most noted trait in Angad and sense of equality in Amar Das. To quote one of Angad's poems:

"I don't keep the Hindu fast nor that observed by
the Muslims in *Ramzān*

¹ *B. E. Kb.* 143. He thinks that Sikhism started in a protest against the conventionalism and not against Hinduism.

² See Sir Lepel Griffin's chapter on '*Sikhism and the Sikhs*' in the book entitled '*the Great Religions of the world*.'

We have dedicated our bodies and souls to Allāh-Rām.”¹

The author of *the Evolution of the Khalsa*³ discusses

⁸ Dr. Indu Bhushan Banerji of Calcutta University.

the question whether Nānak and his disciples were revolutionaries and whether they denounced all the important usages and institutions of the country and arrives at the conclusion that Nānak did not denounce pilgrimage, alms-giving, charity, penance and worship altogether but only attacked those soulless practices that he had found in vogue. What he expected was faith and a spirit of devotion and what he had actually found was greed and selfishness. Similarly he did not entirely discard the *avatārs* and the sacred books of the Hindus and the Muslims. Nānak's primary concern was not to attack the time-honoured institutions and practices, but 'to provide his disciples with a new view-point and a detachment which would enable them to understand the relative value of things in matters religious and to distinguish the fundamental from the secondary.'¹

The Muslim *sufis* in India have an interesting history. In the fifteenth century was born at Jaunpūr, one, Sayyid Muḥammad who proclaimed himself the promised Maḥdī and preached his tenets from 1482 till his death in 1505. He made the Maḥdī co-equal to the Muslim Prophet by making the former the recipient of inspiration direct from God. The Prophet's sayings must be confirmed by the *Qurān* or the Maḥdī. The latter was to explain the *Qurān*, preach its commands and rules of good conduct and admitted the souls into bliss or consigned them to misery. God could be seen by a total oblivion of self in holy meditation and this perfection could only be reached by stages and 'as the mystic vision was attained, the external formalities of the Islamic religion or the reading of the *Qurān* became superfluous.' Ultimately even in this world

¹ B. E. Kh., 142-4.

the devotee 'had a sight of heaven and hell and of the prophets before the final absorption into God.'¹

He had a considerable number of followers, the chief of them being Shaikh 'Abdullāh and Shaikh 'Alāi. The latter's eloquent sermons roused a country-wide enthusiasm and even Sultān Islām Shāh felt interested in him. But as his followers observed revolutionary and anti-social regulations, considered dangerous by the 'Ulamā, e.g., abandonment of wife and children, defence of one's rights with arms, legality of murder of the infidels among whom were included the other sects of Islam, he was at last executed. 'Alāi's death stopped the progress of his sect but its ideals did not die altogether. The Maḥdavīs continued to linger while other sects arose, e.g., the Roshaniya. Even Akbar's Ilāhī religion may have had some inspiration from the Maḥdavīs.²

We would conclude the chapter and the book with a few general observations. It is clear that the sixteenth century held out a promise of an entire social reconstruction. It opened with Sultān Sikandar Lōdī in Delhi and Sultān Husain Shāh in Bengal and ended with Akbar and in between came rulers like Bābur, Humāyūn, Shēr Shāh and Islām Shāh. The masses of the population appear to have been prosperous in their reigns. The kings did not generally hinder the preachers from carrying out their missions or the reformers from freely criticizing the practices and the institutions of the land. Many of these reformers removed the barriers that obstructed the disciples from meeting one another on an equal footing. The Muslim sufis took to pantheism and

¹ See Erskine: *History of India*, Vol. II, 476-82 or Von. Noer: *Akbar*, Vol. II.

² Shaikh Mubārak, Abul Fazl's father had Maḥdavī leanings.

the more intelligent Hindus to monotheism and negation of idolatry. They preached and wrote in the vernacular and encouraged the people to think for themselves. Every one, from the king down to the meanest preacher, seemed animated with the desire of removing the spiritual woes of the people. But the sum total of the results achieved cannot be said to have been considerable. Islam continued to be the dominant religion and the orthodox Muslims looked for inspiration or guidance to Arabia or Persia. The Hindu masses remained as idolatrous and caste-ridden as before and as disunited and inert as ever.

The root causes of this unfortunate situation may be thus summed up:

(1) The inefficiency of the state organization. In spite of their occasional outbursts of bigotry the Muslim rulers had adopted an attitude of indifference to the villages. The villagers lived in a world apart and the ideas of the learned men residing in the larger towns did not filter down to the masses.

(2) The state had neglected to care for the moral elevation of the people and dared not tackle the problems that faced them. Education, in the mediaeval times, was mainly religious and the Muslim orthodoxy kept to its own system of instruction and never attempted to correlate it to the indigenous Brahmanic system. The Muslims themselves, though they commanded ampler funds from the state coffers, were prevented from acquiring sound knowledge by their soldierly lives and by the custom of studying the foreign languages like Arabic and Persian. The Indian Muslim generally found himself stranded. He would not wholly accept the surrounding culture and at the same time could not fully uphold the culture of his original home. These remarks would not apply

to the Muslims of Bengal who had adopted the language of the province and were slowly acquiring an economic importance in the rural districts.¹

(3) The reformers with all their successes touched only the fringe of the people. In his own day Tulsī Dās's message could hardly have reached the entire population, scattered as it was over a vast area. Moreover the masses had hardly the necessary mental equipment to comprehend it fully. But they could follow him and Rāmānanda better than the other reformers like Vallabhāchārya, Rāmānuja or Shankara all of whom had spoken or written in Sanskrit. India would have to be supplied with hundreds of these reformers before the moral tone of the entire Indian people could be truly elevated.

(4) The reformers like Vallabhāchārya and Chaitanya started their movement with the best of motives and with the greatest amount of zeal. But as the followers lacked the requisite mental equipment they in the absence of their master gradually relapsed into moral turpitude or degradation. Religious fervour and social rectitude can only be maintained by the ability and strict conduct of the successive leaders as well as by the observance of a moral and pious life by their disciples. These were mostly absent in the later generations.

(5) Several of these reformed sects were noted for the canonization of the *guru* or master. Kabīr, Nānak, Vallabhāchārya, Chaitanya, were all looked upon as incarnations of God. The *guru* was the interpreter of the universe and its mysteries and the redeemer of his community.² The *gurunād* undoubtedly restricted the in-

¹ The majority of the twelve *Bhūnyas* in the 16th century were Muslims, though Pratāpāditya was the most noted.

² Even the saintly Mīrā Bāi talks of the *satguru* in one of her songs.

dependence of thought in the disciples and to that extent was detrimental to the interests of the society. The later Sikhs by abolishing the *guruship* after Gōvind Singh's death and by emphasizing the political significance of the *Khalsa*, restored the original democratic element among its members but its success was the success, after all, of a small community and could not affect the thought of the whole country.

(6) Both Nānak and Angad give a gloomy picture of the Punjab and the author of *the Evolution of the Khalsa* especially tries to bring out this point in his book. India with its teeming poverty-stricken population¹ ever presented a picture of misery. The numerous divisions of the peoples and the countless strifes among the leaders² are the basic defects that Nānak dilates upon.³ On the whole, Sikandar Lōdī, Ibrāhīm Lōdī, Bābur, Humāyūn, Shēr Shāh, Islām Shāh and Akbar, to talk only of the rulers of the sixteenth century, were kind or good monarchs. But no single ruler was likely to usher in a stable and satisfactory state in a country. It is the people themselves who must achieve it by observing a salutary code of honour or wholesome social regulations towards one another.

(7) The reformers had broken the ice by levelling down the distinctions of castes and creeds. But they did it only in their presence and on religious occasions. What was needed was an extension of the reform so that equality

See *B. B. M. B.*, 147.

¹ J. N. Das Gupta, the author of *D. G. B. S. C.* thinks there was a fair amount of prosperity in Bengal. It may have been more prosperous than the other provinces.

² *D. G. B. S. C.*, 36 talks of the different principalities administered on different principles.

³ See *Supra* p. 399.

might have been observed by all classes of the people and on all religious and social occasions. Of course such an equality could not have been the equality of wealth or intellect. A state organization based on moral uplift, mass education and civic consciousness would solve most of the major problems of India.

Humāyūn with his antiquated notion of kingship and his poor sense of responsibility was unfit for moulding the destiny of Mediaeval India. He was a kindly person of many virtues but no far-reaching regenerator of the country. He determined the courses of the stars and the planets, fused the jarring elements in Islam, founded the cosmopolitan town of Dīn-panāh and befriended his Hindu subjects by his liberal statecraft. But he lacked one of the essential attributes of a king viz. capacity to lead and inspire his followers and organize the entire system of the government. We note in him another kind of virtue viz., of placing humanism on a high pedestal. He left the practical details of looking after the interest of his people to his more practical successor, Akbar. Without Humāyūn, the advent of Akbar the Great could not have been possible; but in the presence of the son, the father loses his lustre. In spite of his many failures, Humāyūn's is an interesting figure in the realm of politics, religion, and social history; and in his conduct as a private individual he might well have served as a mediaeval model for a Muslim.¹

¹ There is much truth in Lane-poole's remarks in his *Mediaeval India*, 219 that 'in private life he might have been a delightful companion and a staunch friend; his virtues were Christian and his whole life was that of a gentleman.'

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Many of the sources for the earlier volume continue to be useful for this volume also. Among them may be mentioned Abul Fazl's *Akbar-nāma*, Gulbadan Bēgam's *Humāyūn-nāma*, Jauhar's *Taẓkirat-ul-wāqī'āt*, Niẓamuddīn Aḥmad's *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Badāūnī's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Abbās Sarwānī's *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī* or *Tuḥfa-i-Akbar Shāhī*, Ṭāhir Muḥammad's *Rauḍat-ut-Ṭābirīn*, Ni'matullāh's *Makḥẓan-i-Afghānī*, Sujān Rāī's *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh*, Bakhtāwar Khān's *Mirāt-ul-'Ālam*.

I have also utilized here several other works. Among them may be mentioned (1) Bayazīd Biāt's *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn Bādshāh* (2) Sayyid Muḥammad Ma'sūm Bhakkārī's *Tārīkh-i-Sind* or *Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī* of which an excellent printed edition by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute is now available (3) Mullā 'Abdul Bāqī's *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī* (4) *Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Tīmūrīa* of which a unique copy is available at the Bankipore Khudabakhsh library (5) Aḥmad Yādgar's *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī* printed for the first time by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was formerly known under the title of *Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-i-Afāghina* (6) Muḥammad Ṣādiq's *Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq* (7) *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī*, text and translation published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (8) Ḥasan Bēg Romlu's *Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh* (9) Mirzā 'Alāuddaula Qazvinī's *Nafāis-ul-Ma'āsir* (10) *Taẓkira-i-Bukhārāi* (11) *Tārīkh-i-'Arīf Qandahārī* (12) *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī* the first portion of which includes the history of Humāyūn's reign.

In addition to these general histories, I have made use of works of a special nature, e.g., for an exposition of the literary attainments of the Tīmūrīds, I secured a rare copy of Humāyūn's *dīwān* through the courtesy of Mr. S. H. Askari of Patna and also utilized Kāmran's *dīwān* available both in Calcutta and Patna, *Taẓkira-i-Bukhārāi*, *Riaṣ-us-shu'arā* and Muḥammad Ṣādiq's *Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī*, a transcript of the relevant portions of which was very kindly supplied by Nuwab Sadryar Jang Saheb of Habibganj, Aligarh. As an illustration of a Mughal nobleman's sufistic poetry I have chosen Bahrām Saqqā whose *dīwān* is preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Some space has been allotted to Humāyūn's buildings or those associated with his name and the Archaeological Survey reports were brought into requisition in this connection. For the last chapter, where I have depicted the progress of thought among Humāyūn's subjects, a mass of materials was available not only in Persian but also in Hindi, Gurmukhi, Bengali and English.

After a general survey of the sources, we proceed to consider them in a greater detail.

<p><i>Akbar-nāma</i> <i>Iqbāl-nāma</i> <i>Jauhar</i> <i>Gulbadan</i> <i>Humāyūn-nāma</i></p>	<p><i>Bēgam's</i></p>	<p><i>Akbar-nāma</i> continues to be the standard work of reference and <i>Iqbāl nāma</i> closely follows it. A. Fazl loses his critical perspective only when he fawns on his royal patron. Jauhar in his conscientious attempt to record as many details of his master's life as possible, unwittingly supplies us with many of the side-lights, e.g., Humāyūn's rejoicings at the birth of Akbar, his wearing of a woman's clothes in a moment of sore need, his supplying water to a thirsty creditor only after securing the cancellation of a bond, and</p>
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the circumstances leading to Kāmṛān's capture and loss of eye-sight. Similarly Gulbadan Bēgam's *Humāyūn-nāma* is invaluable in giving us a picture of royal Muslim women of the times and has been utilized in Chapter XVIII. Her relations with her husband, Khizr Khwāja Khān, her statement that she had never written to the Khān directly but always through her son, Sa'ādat Yār, and her influence which kept her husband on Humāyūn's side while his brothers had gone over to Kāmṛān are all interesting facts. She also fully describes Humāyūn's marriage with Ḥamīda Bānū and Hindāl's death.

For a description of the period when Humāyūn stayed in Sind, one of our sources is the *Tārīkh-i-Sind*. The author, Sayyid Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Bhakkārī was a resident of the province and noted architect of Akbar's reign.

We have devoted a chapter to Akbar's birth and discussed Vincent Smith's contention, based on an earlier article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* that the actual date of birth, November 23, 1542 was suppressed and that October 15 was only the official date of his birth.

For the chapter, *Humāyūn in Rājputāna* I had the benefit of Bisheshwar Nath Rcu's works (1) *Marmār ka Itihās* (2) *History of the Rāshtrakūtas* and also of *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, S. R. Sharma's article on *Shēr Shāh and Māldēo* and N. N. Ray's on *Humāyūn and Māldēo*.

For Humāyūn's stay in Persia we had to choose from the mass of materials at our disposal and were able to consult among others (1) Ḥasan Bēg Romlu's *Aḥsan-ut-Tawārīkh* (2) a transcript of *Fayyāẓ-ul-Qawānīn*, the manuscript in possession of Maharaj-kumar Dr. Raghbir Singh of Sitamau (3) *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī* and (4) Bayazīd Biāt's *Tārīkh-Humāyūn Bādshāh*. It was at princess Sul-

tānam's persuasion that her brother, the Shāh, agreed to lend aid for Humāyūn's restoration. A sister's influence as against the combined influences of the princes and almost the whole of the Īrānī nobility is an interesting fact.

The Chapters X to XIII describe Humāyūn's restoration in Qandahār and Kābul and his continued struggles with Kāmrān until the latter's capture and exile to Macca. The chapters XIV and XV give a description of Humāyūn's second invasion of India and occupation of Delhi followed by his death. The Khudābakhsh Library of Bankipore possesses the copy of Hāfiz's *dīwān* containing in Humāyūn's handwriting the statement of his consulting it for an omen. For a description of Shēr Mandal and Humāyūn's tomb, the Archaeological Survey reports as well as Percy Brown's article on the Monuments of the Mughal period in the *Cambridge History of India Vol. IV* have been profitably drawn upon.

In Chapter XVI which deals with Akbar's childhood under Humāyūn's tutelage, I have made a tentative suggestion in a foot-note relying on 'Alī Qulī Khān Dāghistānī's *Riāṣ-us-Shu'arā* that Akbar was not illiterate. But the Khān's statement is not conclusive as the author was not a contemporary writer but lived in the eighteenth century.

The Chapters XVII and XVIII deal mostly with Bābur's family and so *Bābur-nāma* and Gulbadan Bēgam's work have been profitably used and illustrations have been given from the *dīwāns* of Humāyūn and Kāmrān. Stray facts have been taken from *Shaibānī-nāma*, *Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Timūriā*, *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī*, *Badā'ūnī* and *Tārīkh-i-Raḥmat Khānī*. For Māham Anagab attention has been drawn to Dr. Ram Prasad Tripathi's article on *Māham Anaga and Akbar* in the *Journal of Indian History* for

1921 and the Persian inscription on the protected monument at Delhi known as *Khair-ul-manāzil*.

For the Chapter XIX which deals with Humāyūn's institutions and monuments, we have utilized the newly-edited *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī*, text and translation by Dr. Hidayat Husain and Dr. Baini Prasad respectively; also the *Rauḡat-ut-Ṭāhirīn*, *Āin-i-Akbarī*, *Badāūnī*, Bayazīd Biāt's *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn Bādshāh*, *Mufākhir-ul-Aḥbāb* and the interesting modern work, *Some aspects of Muslim administration* by Dr. Tripathi. For Humāyūn's monuments, besides the Archaeological reports and Percy Brown's article referred to above, we have relied on the books on monuments like Sir Sayyid Ahmad's *Āsār-us-ṣanādīd*, Havell's *Indian Architecture* and V. Smith's *A history of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*.

For the last chapter which gives a brief description of the Mughal kingship, nobility and the people of Humāyūn's time, I have consulted the works of the contemporary reformers like Gūrū Nānak and his immediate successors of the Punjab, Kabīr and Vallabhāchārya of Hindustan and Chaitanya and his disciples of Bengal. Macauliffe's *Sikh religion*, Tagore's *A hundred poems of Kabīr*, Basu's *Mīrā Bāi* and a host of other modern works have been consulted. Illustrations of contemporary Persian poetry have been obtained from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī*, *Badāūnī* and the *dīwān* of Bahrām Saqqā and also from A. Ghani's *A history of Persian Language and Literature*, Browne's *A history of Persian Literature* and Muḥammad Husain Āzād's *Āb-i-Hayāt*.

A fuller list of the useful books on the period is given below :

THE PERSIAN WORKS

<i>Authors' name</i>	<i>Title of work</i>	<i>Abbrevia- tion used</i>	<i>Ms. or printed work</i>	<i>The name of library where available</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1. Shamsuddīn Mu- hammad Ḥāfiẓ Shī- rāzī d. 791 A. H.	Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ ..	..	ms.	Bankipore Khu- dabakhsh Lib- rary (B. Kh. L.).	Contains autograph notes of Humāyūn.
2. Ghiyāsuddīn Mu- hammad Khwān- damīr d. 942 A. H.	Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī 941 A. H.	Kh.	p. w.	..	Edited by Dr. M. Hidayat Husain.
3. Ḥaidar Dughlāt Mirzā d. 958 A. H.	Tārīkh-i-Rashidī ..	T. R.	ms.	Muslim Univer- sity Library (M. U. L.).	..
4.	Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i- Tīmūriā.	T. Kh. T.	ms.	B. Kh. L. ..	The only copy known to exist.
5.	Haft Risāla-i-Taqwīm- -i Buldān.	H. R. T. B.	ms.	Buhār Library (Bu. L.).	..
6.	Tazkirat-ul-umarā (fourth risala of the preceding).	T. U.	ms.	..	..

7. Hājī Muḥammad 'Arif Qandahārī.	Tārīkh-i-'Arif Qandahārī or Tārīkh-i-Akbarī	T. A. Q.	"	Rampur State Library (R.S.L.).	The only copy known to exist.
8.	Tazkira-i-Bukhārī ..	T. B.	"	Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Library (R. A. S. B. L.).	..
9. <i>Darvesh</i> Bahram Saqqā Bukhārī d. 962 A. H.	Diwān-i-Saqqā ..	..	"	R. A. S. B. L.	..
10. Humāyūn Bādshāh d. 963 A. H.	Diwān-i-Humāyūn ..	..	ms.	..	The only copy is with Mr. S. H. As- kari. ..
11. Kāmran Mirzā d. 964 A. H.	Diwān-i-Kāmran ..	..	ms.	R. A. S. B. L. and B. Kh. L.	..
12. Mirzā 'Alāuddaula Qazvinī.	Nafā'is-ul-Ma'āsir c. 983 A. H.	N. M.	"	R. S. L.	..
13. Shāh Tahmāsp d. 984 A. H.	Tazkira-i-Tahmāsp c. 980 A. H.	..	p. w.	..	..
14. Hasan Bēg Romlu	Aḥsan-ut-Twārikh 985 A. H.	R. A. T.	"	..	..

<i>The author's name</i>	<i>The title of work</i>	<i>Abbrevia- tion used</i>	<i>Ms. or printed work</i>	<i>The name of the library where available</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
15. Jauhar <i>Āftābchī</i> ..	Tazkirat-ul-wāqī'āt 995 A. H.	Jauhar	ms.	B. Kh. L. and Muslim Univer- sity Library (M. U. L.).	..
16. Abbās Sarwānī ..	Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī or Tuḥfa-i-Akbar Shāhī 995 A.H.	Abbās	"	Allahabad Uni- versity Library (A. U. L.).	..
17. Gulbadan Bēgam d. 1011 A. H.	Humāyūn-nāma 995 A. H.	G. H. N.	p. w.	..	..
18. Bayazīd Biāt ..	Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn Bādshāh c. 998 A.H.	B.B.T.H.B.	ms.	A. U. L.	..
19. Nizāmuddīn Aḥ- mad d. 1003 A. H.	Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī c. 1002 A.H.	T. A.	p. w.	..	..
20. 'Abdul Qādir Badā- ūnī d.c. 1004 A. H.	Muntakhab-ut-Tawā- rīkh 1004 A. H.	Bad.	"	..	..
21. Abul Faẓl d. 1011 A. H.	Āīn-i-Akbarī 1,006 A. H.	A. A.	"	..	..
22. Abul Faẓl d. 1011 A. H.	Akbar-nāma ..	A. N.	p. w.	..	..

23. Muḥiuddīn ‘Abdul Qādir.	An-nūr-us-sāfir 1,012 A. H.	..	p. w.	..	..
24. Tāhir Muḥammad ..	Rauzat-ut-Tāhirīn 1014 A. H.	R. T.	ms.	B. Kh. L.	..
25. Sayyid Muḥammad Ma’sūm Bhakkārī d. 1015 A. H.	Tārīkh-i-Sind or Tārīkh-i-Ma’sūmī.	T. S.	ms.	A. U. L.	..
26. Khwāja Nī’matullāh	Makhzan-i-Afghānī or Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī wa Makhzan-i-Afghānī.	..	”	R. A. S. B. L.	..
27. Aḥmad Yādgar ..	Tārīkh-i-Shāhī 1023 A. H. or Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Afghānī.	T. Sh. T. S. A.	p. w. ms.	R. A. S. B. L. R. A. S. B. L.	.. ..
28. ‘Abdul Bāqī Nahāwandī.	Ma’āsir-i-Raḥīmī 1025.	M. R.	p. w.	..	..
29. Muḥammad Qāsim Farishta d. 1033 A. H.	Tārīkh-i-Farishta or Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī.	.. Far.	p. w. ms.	.. ..	.. With the author.
30. Mu’tamad Khān d. 1049 A. H.	Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahān-gīrī c. 1037.	I. N.	p. w.	..	..

<i>The author's name</i>	<i>The title of work</i>	<i>Abbrevia- tion used</i>	<i>Ms. or printed work</i>	<i>The name of the library where available</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
31. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kashmirī.	Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī 1046.	..	ms.	Habibganj Lib- rary.	Belongs to Nuwab Sadr- yar Jang.
32. Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq Isfahānī.	Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq 1,046 A. H.	S. S.	ms.	B. Kh. L. ..	..
33. Muḥammad Yūsuf Atakī.	Muntakhab-ut-Tawā- rīkh 1,056 A. H.	M. T.	"	" " "	..
34. Sarmad d. 1070 A. H.	Rubā'iyāt-i-Sarmad ..	..	p. w.	..	..
35. Shaikh Muḥammad Baqā 1094 A. H.	Mirāt-i-Jahān-numā ..	M. J. N.	ms.	R. S. L. ..	..
36. Bakhtāvar Khān d. 1096 A. H.	Mirāt-ul-'Ālam 1078 A. H.	M. A.	"	Buhar Library (Bu. L.).	..
37. Brindāban Dās ..	Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh 1101 A. H.	L. T.	"	R. A. S. B. L. ..	..
38. Sujān Rāi ..	Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh 1107 A. H.	Kh. T.	"	..	With the author.

39. Muḥammad Hādī Kāmwar Khān.	Tazkirat-us-Salāṭin-i- Chaghta 1137 A. H. or Tazkirat-us-Salāṭin or Tārīkh-i-Chaghta.	T. S. Ch. T. Sal.	” ..	R. A. S. B. L. ..	..
40. Shāh Nawāz Khān d. 1171 A. H. and Mīr ‘Abdul Haiy.	Ma‘āsir-ul-umarā 1194 A. H.	..	p. w.	..	..

TRANSLATIONS

<i>The editor's name</i>	<i>The translation of</i>	<i>Abbreviation used</i>	<i>The Publisher's name</i>	<i>The year of publication</i>
1. Beveridge, Mrs. A.	Bābur-nāma	B. N.	Luzac and Co., London	1922
2. " "	Humāyūn-nāma	G. H. N.	Royal Asiatic Society, London.	1902
3. Beveridge, H. ..	Akbar-nāma	A. N.	Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.	1907
4. Blochmann, H. ..	Āin-i-Akbarī, Vol. I ..	A. A.	Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.	1873
5. Dorn, B.	Makhzan-i-Afghānī ..	Dorn	Oriental Translation Committee, London.	1829
6. Jarrett, H. S. ..	Āin-i-Akbarī, Vols. II & III.	A. A.	Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.	1891 and 1894
7. Prasad, Bains ..	Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī ..	Kh.	Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.	1940

THE MODERN WORKS

<i>The author's or editor's name</i>	<i>The title of work</i>	<i>Abbreviation used</i>	<i>The name of the publishers or the printers</i>	<i>The year of publication</i>
1. Ahmad, H. B.	The Administration of Justice in Mediaeval India.	..	The Aligarh Historical Research Institute.	1941
2. Ahmad, Sir Sayyid	Āsār-us-Ṣanādīd (in Urdu)	S. S. A. S.	The Nami Press, Cawn-pore.	1904
3. Ali, Mrs. Mir Hasan.	Observations on the Mulsalms in India.	M. H. A.	The Oxford University Press, Oxford.	1917
4. Arnold, Sir Thomas.	The Legacy of Islam ..	..	The Clarendon Press Oxford.	1931
5. Azad, Muḥammad Husain.	Darbār-i-Akbarī (in Urdu)	..	The Karimi Press, Lahore.	1927
6. Azad, Muḥammad Husain.	Sukhundān-i-Fāris (in Urdu).	..	The Institute, Aligarh College, Aligarh.	1918
7. Azad, Muḥammad Husain.	Āb-i-Ḥayāt (in Urdu) ..	..	Lahore	1911
8. Banerjī, I. B. ..	Evolution of the Khalsa ..	B. E. Kh.	The University of Calcutta.	1939
9. Banerjī, S. K. ..	Humāyūn Bādshāh ..	H.B. Vol. I	The Oxford University Press.	1938
10. Banke Behari ..	The story of Mira Bai ..	B.B.M.B.	The Gita Press, Gorakhpur.	1935

<i>The author's or editor's name</i>	<i>The title of work</i>	<i>Abbreviation used</i>	<i>The name of the publishers or the printers</i>	<i>The year of publication</i>
11. Barth, A. ..	The Religions of India (translation).	..	Trubner & Co., London.	1882
12. Basu, A. N. ..	Mira Bai (in Bengali) ..	..	The Shakti Press, Calcutta.	1938
13. Basu, M. M. ..	Sahajiya Sahitya ..	..	The University of Calcutta.	1933
14. Beale, T. W. ..	Miftah-ut-Tavarikh ..	..	The Matba'ul Akhbār, Agra.	1848
15. Beveridge, Mrs. A.	Von Noer's Akbar 2 Vols.	..	Thacker & Co., Calcutta.	1890
16. Bikaner Government.	The State Chronicles of Bikaner.	..	The Bikaner State Press.	..
17. Browne, E. G. ..	The History of Persian Literature, Vol. IV.	B.H.P.L.	The University Press, Cambridge.	1924
18. Das Gupta, J. N.	Bengal in the Sixteenth Century.	D.G.B.S.C.	The University of Calcutta.	1914
19. Elliot, Sir H. and Dowson, J.	The History of India as told by its own historians, Vols. IV & V.	..	Trubner & Co., London.	1872 and 1875
20. Erskine, W. ..	The History of India, 2 Vols	..	Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London.	1854

21. Fanshawe, H. C.	Delhi, Past and Present ..	..	John Murray, London.	1902
22. Fergusson, J. ..	History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II	..	John Murray, London	1910
23. Ghani, M. A. ..	A history of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, 3 Vols.	G.H.P.L.	The Indian Press, Allahabad.	1929 and 1930
24. Griffin, Sir L. ..	The Chapter on <i>Sikhism</i> and the <i>Sikhs</i> in 'The Great Religions of the World'.	..	Harper and Brothers	1901
25. Haig, Sir W. and Burn, Sir R.	The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV.	C.H.I. IV	The University Press, Cambridge.	1937
26. Hasan, Ibn. ..	The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire.	..	The Oxford University Press, India.	1936
27. Hasan, Maulavi Zafar Hasan.	The Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir No. 10.	A. S. I.	The Government Printing Press, Calcutta.	1922
28. Havell, E. B. ..	The Indian Architecture ..	..	John Murry, London.	1913
29. Hendley, T. Holbein.	Alwar and its treasures.	..	W. Griggs, London.	1888

<i>The author's or editor's name</i>	<i>The title of work</i>	<i>Abbreviation used</i>	<i>The name of the publishers or the printers</i>	<i>The year of publication</i>
30. Herklots, G. A. . .	Jafar Sharif's Islam in India.	J.S.I.I.	The Oxford University Press.	1921
31. Hodivala, S. H. . .	Studies in Indo-Muslim History.	..	The Fort Printing Press, Bombay.	1939
32. Hunter, W. W. . .	The Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. II.	..	The Clarendon Press, Oxford.	1907-9
33. Husain, Wahed . .	The administration of Justice during the Muslim rule in India.	W.H.A.J.	The University of Calcutta.	1934
34. Jaffar, S. N. . .	The Education in Muslim India.	..	The Ripon Printing Press, Lahore.	1936
35. Jaffar, S. N. . .	Some cultural aspects of Muslim rule in India.	..	The Imperial Press, Peshawar.	1939
36. Jaisi, Muhammad	Padmāvat (In Hindi) . .	..	Nagri Pracharani Sabha, Benares.	1924
37. Jodhpur Government.	A brief account of Jodhpur.	..	The Marwar State Press.	1896
38. Keay, F. E. . .	The History of the Hindi Literature.	..	The Oxford University Press, Oxford.	1920

39. Khosla, R. P. ..	The Mughal kingship and nobility.	..	The Indian Press, Allahabad.	1934
40. Lammens, H. ..	Islam .. ..	..	Methuen & Co., London.	1929
41. Lane-poole, S. ..	The Mediaeval India (Story of the Nations series).	..	Fisher Unwin, London	1917
42. Macauliffe, M. A.	The Sikh Religion.. ..	..	The Clarendon Press, Oxford.	1909
43. Macmunn, Sir G.	Afghanistan .. ..	..	G. Bell & Sons, London.	1929
44. Malleson, G. B. ..	The history of Afghanistan.	..	Allen & Co., London	1879
45. Mirza, M. W. ..	The life and works of Amir Khusrau.	..	The University of the Punjab, Lahore.	1935
46. Nicholson, R. H.	The Mystics of Islam ..	..	G. Bell & Sons, London.	1914
47. Nicholson, R. H.	The idea of personality in Sufism.	..	The University Press, Cambridge.	1923
48. Ojha, G. S. ..	Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, 2 Vols. (in Hindi).	U.R.I.	The Vaidic Yantralaya, Ajmer.	1928

<i>The author's or editor's name</i>	<i>The title of work</i>	<i>Abbreviation used</i>	<i>The name of the publishers or the printers</i>	<i>The year of publication</i>
49. Prasad, Beni ..	Jahangir. .. ..	..	The Indian Press, Allahabad.	1930
50. Qanungo, K. R.	Sher Shah .. ..	..	Kar, Majumdar & Co., Calcutta.	1921
51.	The Quran .. ..	..	The Islamic Review office, Woking.	1917
52.	The Rajputana Gazetteer	..	..	..
53. Rennell, J. ..	The Memoir of a Map of Hindustan or Mughal Empire.	..	Nicol and Richardson	1792
54. Reu, B. N. ..	History of the Rashtrakutas.	Reu.	The Marwar State Press	1933
55. Reu, B. N. ..	Marwar ka Itihas (in Hindi)	..	The Jodhpur Government Press.	1938
56. Rogers, A and Beveridge, H.	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I	..	The Royal Asiatic Society, London.	1909
57. Roy, M. N. ..	The Historic role of Islam	..	Vora & Co., Bombay	1938
58. Saran, P. ..	The Provincial Government of the Mughals.	..	The Kitabistan, Allahabad.	1941

59. Sarkar, J. N.	..	The Studies in Mughal India.	..	M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta.	1919
60. Saxena, B. P.	..	Shah Jahan	The Indian Press, Allahabad.	1932
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The following abbreviations have been used :—

A. for Abul; Ab. for Abdul; Ak. for Akbar; As. for 'Askarī; B. for Bēgam; b. for battle; Bai. for Bairam Khan; d. for died; H. for Humāyūn; H.B. for Hamīda Bānū Bēgam; Hl. for Hindāl M.; K. for Kāmran M.; Kh. for Khwāja; M. for Mirzā; Md. for Muḥammad; n. for foot-note; S. for Saiyyid; Sh. for Shaikh; Sh. H. for Shāh Husain Arghūn; Sh. Sh. for Shēr Shāh; Sl. for Sulṭān; T. for Shāh Ṭahmāsp. The numerical figure indicates the page number.

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